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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

INDIA.

VOL. II.

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

INDIA.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

"Two centuries have elapsed since a few British merchants humbly solicited permission of the Indian princes to traffic in their dominions. The British power, at present, embraces nearly the whole of that vast region which extends from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Tibet, and from the mouths of the Brahmapootra to the Indus."* With this striking statement, the Historian of British India introduces his interesting theme. The conquest, by a company of merchants, of a territory extending over more than a million of square miles, and sustaining upwards of a hundred millions of inhabitants; those sovereign merchants resident in a small island at the further extremity of the ancient world; is a political phenomenon which would have appeared incredible if foretold, and which will astonish succeeding ages. But the most striking feature of this conquest is, that it has been effected, at almost every stage, with trepidation and unfeigned reluctance; or, at least, in opposition to the wishes and

* Mill's British India, v. i., p. 1.

policy of those with whose capital and in whose name it has been carried on. The Directors of the Company's concerns in England, Sir John Malcolm remarks, "denounced at every step, that progress which their agents made to territorial power in India; and with a view of checking this spirit of aggrandisement, they, at last, called for the aid of the Legislature, which readily seconded their efforts, and gave the authority of law to their orders. But had those proprietors, or had the English ministry been more fully informed, or had they drawn their conclusions from plain, practical reasoning, combined with a correct view of human nature, as it existed in the country for which they legislated, rather than from abstract principles of general policy, they might, perhaps, have been more moderate and less dogmatical in their efforts to correct the system; they might have discovered that, though they might regulate, it was a vain attempt to endeavour to stop altogether, the career of a state which was rising rapidly into greatness under the influence of causes that were irresistible in their force, and which it was not possible to control. The truth is, that from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or by the rapacity and ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength, which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the recurrence of similar danger."*

* Malcolm's Political History of India, vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

A rapid review of the origin and progress of the British power in India, is all that will be attempted in the present historical outline. The domestic and parliamentary history of the Company does not come within our province.

The earliest communication between England and India, has been traced back to a remote period in our annals. William of Malmsbury relates, that Alfred the Great sent a mission to St. Thomas's on the coast of Coromandel, about A.D. 883; and in the Saxon Chronicle we are further told, that the English monarch, having heard that the Christian missionaries in India were in great distress, despatched Sighelmus, one of his favourite priests, to convey his alms to the monks of St. Thomas's. Having executed his commission, he returned to England after an absence of several years, bringing with him a considerable number of precious stones, which he deposited in the church of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire; of which see he was created bishop, as a reward for his services. In consequence of the splendid account given by Sighelmus of the trade, opulence, and luxuries of the East, we are moreover assured, that Alfred caused several ships to be built and equipped, for the special object of embarking in the Indian trade; and that, having lent these ships to a few adventurous merchants, whom he also assisted with money, they performed some successful voyages to the ports of Syria and Egypt, whence they returned richly laden with Indian commodities. It does not, however, appear, that the commercial intercourse thus begun by the enterprising genius of Alfred, was continued for any length of time, or even prosecuted with any regularity during the most prosperous period of his reign. From the death of that great prince to the time of Henry VIII., England was

supplied with the commodities of the East by the Venetians and Florentines.

" After the Norman conquest, an event which contributed to increase the external commerce of England, a ship of considerable burden was sent annually from Venice to the port of Southampton, laden with the various products of India. As the English barons advanced in wealth and civilization, they acquired a taste for luxuries, and the demand for eastern commodities was consequently augmented. In the reign of Edward the Third, the Venetian merchants employed five ships in the English trade; and the principal part of the cargoes of these vessels consisted in sugar, spiceries, and aromatics, which were much used at the tables of men of rank. These valuable articles, together with silks and cotton stuffs, were paid for partly in specie, and partly in woollens, untanned leather, and tin; but, as the prices of the eastern commodities were very exorbitant, the balance of trade was in favour of the Venetians. Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the superiority of English shipping and seamen to those of any other country, neither the statesmen nor the merchants of England used any endeavours to embark in this lucrative branch of commerce; a sufficient proof, not only of the want of a trading capital, but of the total absence of that speculative spirit which is the living principle of all commercial pursuits. Hence the English were contented to receive through the Venetians, those commodities on which they placed so high a value, and in which they must have been sensible they would have derived more advantage from trading themselves. But when the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope threw the Indian trade into the hands of the Portuguese, and Lisbon thereby became the great

emporium for the productions of the East, the merchants of London imported them from that city on their own account, and conveyed them to the Thames in their own ships.

"About this period, Mr. Robert Thorne,* a merchant in London, presented a memorial to Henry the Eighth, setting forth the great advantages that would accrue to the nation, by opening a direct commerce to India; and with a view to suit his scheme to the ambitious spirit of that prince, he proposed to proceed to India by a new route. For, as the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries to the east, and the Spaniards to the west, it was an object worthy of the English, to lay open the navigation of the northern ocean. Though this project was certainly extremely plausible, it does not appear that Henry ever gave it the smallest encouragement, or even considered its possible practicability with that attention which might have been expected from his intelligent mind. It was not till A.D. 1578, that the first light was thrown on this navigation by Sir Francis Drake."†

The expedition fitted out under the command of this illustrious navigator, for the express purpose of reaching the Southern Ocean, sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577. Having passed the Straits of Magellan, and ravaged the western coast of

* Thorne had resided for many years at Seville, where he had acquired particular knowledge of the intercourse which the Portuguese had opened with the East.

† Asiat. An. Reg. 1801, pp. 17, 18. Two voyages, however, in search of a north-west passage, were undertaken in the reign of Henry VIII.; one about this period, and another ten years later. These having failed, a small squadron was fitted out in the reign of Edward VI., to explore a north-east passage, which, though unfortunate, was followed by several vigorous attempts; and before this project was finally abandoned, that of obtaining a passage by the north-west was vigorously resumed. See authorities in Mill, vol. i., pp. 6, 7.

Spanish America, to avoid the risk of encountering a Spanish fleet, he formed the bold design of crossing the Pacific, and regaining England by the Cape of Good Hope. After visiting the Moluccas and touching at Java, he performed with ease the navigation of which the Portuguese had spread such terrific accounts, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September, 1580, after a voyage of two years, ten months, and a few days; exhibiting to the wondering eyes of his countrymen, the first English ship, and the second in the world, that had circumnavigated the globe.*

Drake was followed, in 1586, by Cavendish, who took the course of the Magellan Straits, visited the Ladrones and the Philippines, passed through the Moluccas, and doubling the Cape in May, landed at Plymouth in September, 1588; having performed the voyage in about two years and seven weeks.

"In 1591, a Mr. Raymond and a Mr. James Lancaster jointly equipped three vessels for a voyage to India, with a view not only to trade with the natives of the East, but to cruise against the Portuguese ships returning to Europe. Their voyage, however, proved extremely disastrous. Of the three ships that sailed from England, Lancaster's was the only one that reached India; the others perished off the Cape of Good Hope. The disabled condition of Lancaster's ship, on his arrival at Calicut, rendered it essential to lay out all his money in purchasing materials to repair her; so that he was prevented from fulfilling any one of the purposes of his voyage; and to com-

* Mill, i. p. 9—11. "The first Englishman that went to India by the Cape of Good Hope, was a person of the name of Stevens. He had resided at Lisbon in the capacity of a factor; and in A.D. 1579, was induced to make a voyage to Goa in a Portuguese ship. On his return to Europe, he published an account of his voyage, and of the Portuguese establishment on the coast of Malabar."—*Asiat. Ann. Reg.*, 1801, p. 18. HARRIS'S *Voyages*, i. 875.

plete his misfortunes, he was, on his return home, driven far to the westward, and cast away amongst the West India islands, where he was providentially rescued by a French vessel, and carried to England.

"The accounts brought by these mariners of the facility of trading with the natives of Hindostan, as well as of the general indignation which the atrocities of the Portuguese had excited amongst them, operated as a very powerful inducement with the London merchants to engage in the eastern commerce. They began to speculate on the great advantages to be derived from it; but, as they had not capital enough to carry it on by way of the Cape of Good Hope, on a scale sufficiently large to afford them any chance in a competition with the Portuguese, they resolved to adopt a more prudent line of conduct, and to endeavour to revive the trade with Syria and Egypt; which the Venetians, from a relaxation of their former industry, had permitted to decay. A memorial was accordingly presented to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1594, signed by a considerable number of the most respectable merchants, in which the national benefits likely to arise from an eastern trade, are exhibited in the most favourable light, and in which, therefore, Her Majesty is earnestly supplicated to make overtures to the Turkish Government, for entering into a treaty of commerce, whereby Her Majesty's subjects should obtain such privileges as would enable them to open a trade with the merchants of Syria and Egypt, on the solid grounds of reciprocal advantages and entire confidence. The Queen received this proposal with perfect cordiality, expressed her satisfaction at the mercantile spirit which was beginning to shew itself in the country, and assured the memorialists, that

she would lose no time in complying with so rational and laudable a request. The Queen being, besides, always disposed to encourage commercial projects, and entertaining a favourable opinion of this one, immediately dispatched letters to the Turkish Emperor at Constantinople, submitting to him certain articles which she proposed as the basis of a treaty of commerce. These letters were received with courtesy; and the proposition which they contained being agreed to with the utmost readiness, a treaty was soon after concluded between the two Powers, by which the merchants of England obtained privileges, in the ports of the Turkish empire, superior to those which had ever before been granted to any other nation. Henceforward, the commodities of India were brought to England in English ships; and the trade thus opened with the Turkish empire, continued to be conducted with unabated spirit for many years after the establishment of the East India Company.

"But this branch of commerce was not attended with those great national advantages which it was expected to produce. From the number of hands through which the Indian commodities passed before they reached England, the price put upon them was necessarily high; and the Dutch, who had now established themselves in various parts of India, and vigorously prosecuted the trade thither, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, easily undersold the English and Turkey merchants, even at the London market. This mortifying circumstance served to infuse a new spirit into the commercial ardour which then prevailed; and some of the most opulent London merchants determined, if supported by Government, no longer to suffer the Portuguese and the Dutch to

monopolize the valuable trade of India. In carrying this determination into effect, they were assisted by the celebrated George, Earl of Cumberland, and a number of gentlemen of independent fortune, who agreed to join them in the speculation of fitting out a certain number of ships to trade to India, provided they obtained a charter from Government, granting to those who engaged in this concern, the exclusive privilege of carrying on the commerce between England and India. Upon application being made to the Queen, to know the sentiments of Her Majesty on this subject, she expressed her approbation of the measure, and her desire to give it every encouragement. She had indeed anticipated, in her comprehensive mind, the idea of the merchants; and with a view to realize it successfully, Mr. John Mildenhall, the English consul at Constantinople, was sent overland to Hindostan, charged with letters from Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. The object of this mission was, to obtain from that prince such privileges for the English merchants who came to the ports of his dominions, as would give them a decided advantage over the other European nations that traded thither. The English ambassador was received at the court of Agra with every mark of courtesy, respect, and distinction; though the artifices which were used by the Portuguese Jesuits, then residing at Agra and Delhi, to impress Akbar with an unfavourable opinion of the English people, appear to have induced him to reject the friendly overtures of Elizabeth, and refuse to accede to her proposals.* It is certain, that Mildenhall returned to England without having attained the purpose of his

* In Murray's History of Discoveries in Asia, an abstract is given of Mildenhall's own despatch, in which he professes at length to have carried his point. See Murray, ii. chap. 4.

mission; but it is not mentioned whether he brought any letters from Akbar to Elizabeth.

"The Queen, however, did not wait for the answer of that monarch, to decide upon the measure in contemplation; for, on the 31st of December, 1600, about six months subsequent to the departure of Mildenhall from Constantinople, the East India Company was instituted by the grant of a charter from Her Majesty. This charter was granted to George, Earl of Cumberland and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants; constituting them a body politic and corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure, and under the title of 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.'" *

This charter, the origin of that important and anomalous power which has since grown up under the name of the East India Company, contained no article that remarkably distinguished it from other charters of incorporation, so commonly bestowed in that age upon trading associations. The original capital was 72,000*l.*, divided into shares of 50*l.*† The command of the first fleet, consisting of four ships, was entrusted to Captain Lancaster. It sailed from Torbay on the 2d of May, 1601, carrying 28,742*l.* in bullion, and 6860*l.* in goods; viz. cloth, lead, tin, cutlery, glass, quicksilver,

* Asiat. Annual Register, 1801, pp. 18—20.

† This appears to have been the proposed capital; but Mr. Mill states, that although the list of subscribers had been eagerly filled up, the calls of the committees for the payment of the instalments were very imperfectly obeyed. The subscribers who had paid, were therefore induced to take upon themselves the whole expense and risk of the first voyage; and the sums advanced soon amounted to 68,373*l.*; of which 39,771*l.* was expended in the purchase and equipment of four ships, and the remainder in their freight.—Mill, i. 22.

Muscovy hides, &c.* Lancaster was instructed to proceed, in the first instance, to Acheen, in Sumatra, for the purpose of procuring spices, which were then in great demand in England; and he carried out a letter from the Queen to the sovereign of that place, proposing a treaty of commerce and alliance. Notwithstanding the jealousies of the Portuguese missionaries, the English agent was well received; an advantageous treaty was concluded, and permission was given to erect a factory at Acheen. Having taken on board a quantity of pepper, Lancaster set sail for the Moluccas. In the Straits of Malacca, he captured a Portuguese vessel of 900 tons burden, carrying calicoes and spices, which sufficed to lade the fleet. He now, therefore, made for Bantam, in the Island of Java, where, on the delivery of the royal letters and presents, he met with a reception equally favourable, and left some agents, "the first rudiments of the Captain's factories." He then sailed for England, and arrived in September 1603, bringing to his owners a handsome profit on the capital embarked in the voyage.

In the years from 1603 to 1613, eight other voyages were fitted out on similar terms; all of which, except that of 1607, (in which both the vessels were lost,) were prosperous. The first five of the Company's voyages were exclusively directed to the islands of the Indian Ocean. It was not till 1609, that, on the recommendation of the factors at Bantam and in the Moluccas, an attempt was made to open a trade at Surat and Cambay, which was frustrated by the influence of the Portuguese.† The fleet which sailed in

* Mill, i. 23. In the Asiatic Annual Register, 1801, it is stated, that the fleet sailed from the Downs on the 13th of February.

† This was the sixth voyage, under Sir Henry Middleton, the

1611, had better success. At Swally, near Surat, it was attacked by a large Portuguese armament, against which it made a triumphant defence; and the Mogul Emperor no longer hesitated to allow the English to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga, their merchandise being subject to a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The *firmaun* authorizing this first establishment of the English on the continent of India, was received on the 11th of August, 1612.* In 1614, the first royal embassy from this country to India was sent out. James, who had uniformly patronized the Company in every scheme not repugnant to his own pacific maxims, in compliance with a memorial from the governor and directors, appointed Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the court of the Mogul, then residing at Ajmeer. He was received with every honour by Jehanghire, who seemed disposed to accede to all his requests; but the caution of his son and ministers, and the intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, prevented his meeting with all the success that had been anticipated. A confirmation,

date of which we give on the authority of Mr. Mill, who follows Bruce's Annals. In the Asiatic Annual Register (1801), it is stated to have sailed in 1611; prior to which (in 1610), the Company had solicited and obtained from King James, a renewal and enlargement of their charter. One of the ships built for this expedition, was 1200 tons burden, the largest which had been hitherto built in England. The king, who, with his court, attended the launching, named it the "Trade's Increase;" and the pinnace was named the "Pepper-corn." Sir Henry was attacked by the Portuguese near Surat, and not only beat them off, but is said to have captured some. According to Orme, however, the first English ship which came to Surat, was the Hector, Capt. Hawkins, which arrived in August 1608.

* Bruce in Mill, i. 26. According to the Asiatic Ann. Register, the fleet which, after two naval victories, obtained these advantages, sailed in 1613, under the command of Captain Thomas Best. Orme says, they arrived in September 1612.

however, of former grants was obtained, with the additional privilege of having resident agents at some of the principal towns.*

The efforts made by the Portuguese to check the progress of the English, were feeble, and probably accelerated their success, by stimulating them to active and decided measures; but the contest in some degree deranged the finances of the Company, as it involved them in the expense of military equipments. Their pecuniary embarrassments were further increased by the disastrous result of an attempt made at this period, to share in the lucrative trade carried on by the Dutch with the Spice islands. Although they succeeded in conciliating some of the Malay princes, and obtained the cession of several valuable settlements, their factories were ultimately destroyed; and, after the judicial massacre at Amboyna, in 1623, of ten Englishmen and others charged with conspiracy against the Dutch authorities, the English Company may be said to have abandoned to their rivals the commerce of the Eastern Islands.† The commerce and the credit of the Company now began rapidly to decline. The Dutch, trading on a larger capital and with more economy, were enabled both to outbid the English in purchase, and to undersell them in the Indian market. At home, the affairs of the joint-

* Mr. Mill and Sir John Malcolm give 1614 as the year in which this embassy left England. In Murray's Hist. of Discov., Sir Thomas is said to have left England in March, 1612, and to have reached Surat in September. Orme says, the fleet sailed in March, 1615. See, for further details, Murray, ii. 138—158. Mill, i. 29—32. Orme, 362—380.

† Mr. Mill is of opinion, that the "massacre" at Amboyna has been greatly misrepresented. It excited, at the time, when the news reached this country, a popular indignation against the Dutch, bordering upon fury, which the Directors of the East India Company industriously fomented. But their own agents appear to have been guilty of equal atrocities. See Mill, vol. i. pp. 46—57.

stock Company were involved in loss and embarrassment by the arbitrary conduct of the Government, and the efforts of a rival association. It was while matters were at this low ebb, that a settlement was first effected at Madras; the only station as yet chosen, which was destined to make a figure in the future history of the Company. A place of strength on the Coromandel coast had long been desired, that might be a convenient station for providing the piece goods for which chiefly the trade to this coast was pursued. In 1740, 41, the permission of the Hindoo sovereign of the territory to erect a fort at Madras, was, therefore, eagerly embraced. The works were immediately begun by the Company's chief agent on that coast, without waiting for instructions from home; but the measure was disapproved by the Directors. The territory granted, extended five miles along shore, and one mile inland; and the fortress received the name of Fort St. George.* The wars which at this time raged among the natives, rendered commerce difficult and uncertain; but, as it was inconvenient to keep the business of this coast dependent on the distant settlement of Bantam, Fort St. George was, in 1653, 54, erected into a Presidency.

A short time before this, accident had led to the formation of that settlement in Bengal which has since proved the source of all the British power in

* The first English establishment on this coast was at Armegum (or Armagon), in the Carnatic, sixty-six miles north of Madras. This was made in the year 1625, but was found an inconvenient station. The local governor, or *naik*, who first invited the English agents to settle at Madras, is styled Damerla Vencatadic; and the establishment was to receive the name of Chennapatam, in honour of his father; which name is still given to Madras by the natives. The monarch from whom the grant was obtained, was of the Hindoo dynasty of Bejanagur, then-reigning at Chandergherry.

India. For the peculiar privileges which were here granted to the Company's agents, they were indebted to the professional skill of a physician. "This gentleman, whose name was Boughton, had proceeded from Surat to Agra, where he had the good fortune to cure the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan of a severe illness. For this, among other rewards, he received the privilege of carrying on a free-trade. He went to Bengal; and there his abilities obtained him equal favour from the Nabob of that country, who extended the privilege which had been given to him personally by the Emperor, to all his nation." On the payment of 3000 rupees, a license was given for an unlimited trade without payment of customs; and a factory was established at Hooghly by the Company's servants at Surat.*

This event, however, although it opened a new and rich channel of commerce, was not sufficient to arrest the decline of the Company's affairs; and the very existence of that body as a corporation, would appear to have been nearly annihilated during the civil wars in England. The trade to India was, indeed, thrown open from 1652 to 1657, in which year Cromwell renewed the Company's charter. "Nothing can be more opposite," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "than the accounts given by different authors, of the result of this short suspension of the Company's monopoly. One who wrote in 1681, asserts, that the nation had nearly lost, during this period, all its privileges in India, that the value of English commodities was lessened, and that those of India were advanced.

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 18. Mill, vol. i. p. 70. Sir John Malcolm states, that the factory at Hooghly was built in the year 1636. Mr. Mill, on the authority of Bruce, fixes this transaction in 1651, 52.

While another, whose work appeared in 1680, declares, that when the East India trade was laid open, the English merchants afforded the Indian commodities so cheap as to supply most parts of Europe, and even Amsterdam itself.* The death of Cromwell disappointed those expectations which the Company had latterly cherished in consequence of the support of his government; but these were more than fulfilled by a new charter which they obtained from Charles II., dated April 1661. In this, all the rights and privileges which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth and King James were not only confirmed, but new ones of great importance were added. The Company were invested with a right of exercising civil jurisdiction and military authority, and with the power of making war or concluding peace with the infidels of India; the Crown reserving to itself, by this distinction, those prerogatives with respect to European governments."†

The Island of Bombay had been ceded to the King of England, on his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal in 1662, as part of her dowry; but, it being found, after a few years, that the expense of the government exceeded its revenue, in 1668, it was ceded by the Crown to the Company, together with authority to exercise all political powers necessary for its defence and government. Five years afterwards, Charles granted to them the island of St. Helena; and

* That the latter is the more correct statement, seems clearly established by the fact mentioned in the letters of Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary; that the merchants of Amsterdam, having heard that the Lord Protector would dissolve the East India Company at London, and declare the navigation and commerce to the Indies to be free and open, were greatly alarmed, considering such a measure as ruinous to their own East India Company.—See Mill, vol. i. p. 77; and Sir John Malcolm's *note*.

† Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 19, 20.

the whole aid of his government was applied to promote their interests and prosperity. In 1667, 8, appears the first order of the Company for the importation of tea. In the course of the next ten years, the trade with Bengal had grown to such importance, that, instead of a branch of the agency at Fort St. George, an agency was now constituted for Bengal itself. Directions were sent out to attempt opening a trade with China; and tea to the value of 100 dollars was, in 1676, 77, ordered on the Company's account. On the accession of James II., increased immunities and a still larger portion of sovereign power were granted to the Company. They were now authorised to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes by court-martial, and to coin money. The extraordinary powers thus conferred, were, unhappily, disgraced by numerous acts of corruption, violence, and oppression; and some of the more flagrant abuses in the conduct of their affairs, became at length, in 1695, the subject of Parliamentary inquiry.*

In 1687, the supreme seat of government, which had hitherto been at Surat, was transferred to Bombay, which was elevated to the dignity of a regency, with unlimited power over the rest of the Company's settlements. Madras was, at the same time, formed into a corporation, governed by a mayor and aldermen.

"The English had met with less favour and more oppression, from the native powers in Bengal, than in any other part of India. In 1685, 86, the resolution was adopted, of seeking redress and protection by force of arms. The greatest military equipment the Company had ever provided, was sent to India. Ten

* Their home expenses, it was found, had rapidly increased from 1200*l.* *per annum* to 90,000*l.* See Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 21—26. Mill, vol. i. pp. 102, 111, *et seq.*

armed vessels, of from twelve to seventy guns, under the command of Captain Nicholson, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the Members of Council in Bengal, were despatched with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong as a place for future security; and to retaliate in such a manner upon the Nabob and the Mogul, as to obtain reparation for the injuries and losses which had been already sustained. In addition to this force, the Directors, in the following year, made application to the King for an entire company of regular infantry, with their officers; and power was granted to the Governor in India, to select from the privates such men as should appear qualified to be commissioned officers in the Company's service. By some of those innumerable casualties, inseparable from distant expeditions, the whole of the force arrived not at one time in the Ganges; and an insignificant quarrel between some of the English soldiers and the natives, was imprudently allowed to bring on hostilities, before the English were in a condition to maintain them with success. They were obliged to retire from Hooghly, after they had cannonaded it with the fleet, and took shelter at Chuttanuttee, near Calcutta, till an agreement with the Nabob, or additional forces, should enable them to resume their stations. The disappointment of their ambitious schemes was bitterly felt by the Court of Directors. They blamed their servants in Bengal in the severest terms, not only for timidity, but breach of trust, as having turned the resources of the Company, which ought to have been effectually employed in obtaining profitable and honourable terms from the Nabob and the Mogul, to their own schemes of private avarice and emolument. A hollow truce was agreed

to by the Nabob, which he only employed for preparing the means of an effectual attack. The English, under the direction of Charnock, the Company's agent, made a gallant defence. They not only repulsed the Nabob's forces in repeated assaults, but stormed the fort at Tanna, seized the island of Injellee, in which they fortified themselves, and burnt the town of Balasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet; the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered. In September 1687, an accommodation was effected, and the English were allowed to return to Hooghly, with their ancient privileges. But this was a termination of the contest ill-relished by the Court of Directors. Repeating their accusations of Charnock and their other functionaries, they sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to Madras and Bengal, for the purpose of reforming abuses, and of re-establishing, if possible, the factories at Cossimbazar and other places, from which they had been driven by the war. A large ship, the Defence, accompanied by a frigate, arrived from England under the command of a captain of the name of Heath, with instructions for war. The Company's servants had made considerable progress, by negotiation, in regaining their ancient ground, when Heath precipitately commenced hostilities, plundered the town of Balasore, and proceeded to Chittagong, which he found himself unable to subdue. Having taken the Company's servants and effects on board, agreeably to his orders, he sailed to Madras; and Bengal was abandoned.

"These proceedings, with the rash and presumptuous behaviour of Sir John Child on the western side of India, exasperated Aurengzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, and exposed the

Company's establishments to ruin in every part of India. The factory at Surat was seized; the island of Bombay was attacked by the fleet of the Siddees; the greater part of it was taken, and the governor was besieged in the town and castle. Aurengzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized; as was also that at Visigapatam, where the Company's agent and several of their servants were slain. The English stooped to the most abject submissions. With much difficulty they obtained an order for the restoration of the factory at Surat, and the removal of the enemy from Bombay. Negotiation was continued, with earnest endeavours to effect a reconciliation. The trade of the strangers was felt in the Mogul treasuries; and rendered the Emperor, as well as his deputies, not averse to an accommodation. But the interruption and delay sustained by the Company, made them pay dear for their premature ambition, and for the unseasonable insolence, or the imprudence of their servants.

"During these contests, the French found an interval, in which they improved their footing in India. They had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, where they were at this time employed in erecting fortifications.

"It was now laid down as a determinate object of policy, that independence was to be established in India; and dominion acquired. In the instructions forwarded in 1689, the Directors expounded themselves in the following words: 'The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade:—it is that must maintain our force, when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; it is that must make us a nation in India; without that, we are but as a

great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade.' It thus appears, at how early a period, when trade and sovereignty were blended, the trade, as was abundantly natural, became an object of contempt, and, by necessary consequence, a subject of neglect. A trade, the subject of neglect, is of course a trade without profit.

"This policy was so far gratified, about the same period, that Tegnapatam, a town and harbour on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the country powers. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David."*

The year 1690 was distinguished by an attempt to deprive the Company of a monopoly which they had so grossly abused. A committee of the House of Commons, appointed in January of that year, delivered it as their opinion, that a new Company should be established by act of parliament. In 1691, the House itself addressed the King to dissolve the Company, and to incorporate a new one; which was met by a reference of the question to a committee of the Privy Council. Notwithstanding this resolution of the Commons, a new charter was granted to the Old Company in 1693, by letters-patent from the Crown, confirming their exclusive privileges for twenty-one years. But towards the close of the very same season, the Commons came to a vote, that it was the right of all Englishmen to

* Mill, i. p. 104—109.

trade to the East Indies, or any other part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament. In 1698, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, to give effect to the project of a new association, which was incorporated under the name of "The English Company trading to the East Indies." The Old Company obtained in the ensuing season a legislative confirmation of their charter; and thus, the nation had two East India Companies established by parliamentary authority, instead of one deriving its powers from the royal prerogative. The New Company proved, however, a very unequal competitor with the Old; and the shares fell to a discount. The Old Company, under the difficulties with which they had to contend at home, resolved, by the most submissive behaviour, as well as by offers of services, to cultivate the favour of the Moguls. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. They obtained, in 1698, a grant of the towns of Chuttanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta; and they now began, but cautiously, so as not to alarm the native government, to construct a fort. It was denominated Fort William; and the station was, in 1707, constituted a third Presidency.

The rivalship of the two Companies produced in India, all those acts of reciprocal opposition and hostility that naturally flowed from the circumstances in which they were placed. They laboured, by mutual defamation, to supplant each other in the good opinion of the natives and the native governments; and at length, their animosities broke out into open violence. At home, their contentions rose to almost equal height. The chief efforts of both parties were directed to the object of gaining power in the House of Commons; and in the general elections of 1700, each was detected in acts of bribery and corruption. The Old Company

corrupted members: their rivals purchased seats. Tired out at last with a struggle which threatened ruin to both parties, they united their stock under the charter which had been granted to the Old Company, bearing date Sept. 5, 1698; and assumed that name under which they have ever since been incorporated, The United East India Company.*

When the Company commenced their operations in India, upon the new foundation on which their affairs were now placed, Shah Allum had succeeded to his father Aurengzebe on the throne of Delhi. His second son, Azeem Ooshaun, had, before the death of Aurengzebe, been appointed viceroy of Bengal; and as the chief object of the prince was to amass treasure against the impending contest for the succession, he accepted the bribes of the Company, and extended their privileges. It was under his authority that they purchased the zemindarship of Calcutta and the adjacent districts. On leaving Bengal to assist his father, he left his son Feroksere as his deputy; on whose accession, the government of this soubah devolved upon Jaffier Khan, and the English Company, as well as the natives, speedily began to feel the effects of his severe and oppressive administration. In 1713, the first year of the reign of Feroksere, the Presidency of Calcutta applied to the Directors at home for permission to send an embassy to the Mogul court, in the hope of obtaining further protection and privileges. Two of the Company's factors, under the direction of an Armenian merchant, accordingly set out for Delhi; and the Emperor, who had received a most magnificent

* Or, as worded in the charter, "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." The indenture giving legal efficacy to this transaction, passed under the Great Seal on the 22d of July, 1702.—Mill, i. 125—131.—Malcolm, i. 26.

account of the presents of which they were the bearers, ordered them to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass. They reached the capital, July 8, 1715, after a journey of three months; but there, the influence of Jaffier Khan was exerted to defeat an application which tended to abridge his authority and to impeach his government. The embassy and the costly present of the Company were treated with neglect, till the services of a medical gentleman who accompanied the embassy, opened an avenue to the imperial favour.* The Emperor commanded his benefactor to name his reward; and he had the virtue and public spirit to solicit, in lieu of any private advantage, privileges for the Company. One part of the prayer of the petitioners, which embraced several articles, was, that the Company might be allowed to purchase the zemindarships of thirty-seven towns, in the same manner as they had been authorized by Azeem Ooshaun to purchase Calcutta, Chuttanuttee, and Govindpore. This would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the Hooghly, where it was their object to establish weavers subject to their own jurisdiction. The viceroy did not venture directly to oppose the operation of the imperial mandate made in their favour; but his power was sufficient to deter the holders of the land from disposing of it. The authority of the president's *dustuks* (passports), entitling the merchandise of the Company to pass free from duty, stoppage, or inspection, was, however, henceforward recognised; and this important immunity, from which the other European traders were excluded, greatly favoured the vent of the Company's goods.

* See p. 342 of vol. i.

Yet, it produced no improvement in the ultimate profits of the trade.*

In the year 1730, a fresh proposal for the formation of a new company was brought before the British Legislature; and three petitions for a free trade to India, were presented from the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. It was urged that, at this time, foreigners possessed at least a third part of the stock of the Company. The result was, however, a fresh triumph on the part of the Directors. Their exclusive privileges were renewed till the year 1766; and by a new act passed in 1744, the period was prolonged to three years' notice after Lady day 1780.

In the year 1744, war broke out between Great Britain and France; and it was not long before the most distant settlements of the two nations were involved in the effects of their destructive contentions. "The pursuits of commerce now yielded to the occupation of arms; and the strange spectacle was presented, of two European nations combating with each other on the shores of India, aided by different native princes of the country. These chiefs, impelled by a short-sighted policy, thus sacrificed their permanent independence for the attainment of momentary objects of hatred or ambition. For it was, early in this contest, very obvious, that whether the troops of England or of France prevailed, the native allies must become dependent on the conqueror."† Thus, Sir John Malcolm, from whom we borrow these remarks, justly refers to this colonial war as the commencement of a new era in the annals of British India.

* Mill, iii. 34, 44. In 1732, the Company found themselves obliged to reduce their dividends from 8 to 7 *per cent. per annum*; at which rate they continued till 1744, when they returned to 8 *per cent.*

† Malcolm, i. 29.

On the 14th of Sept. 1746, a French fleet anchored four leagues to the south of Madras, and effected the debarkation of between five and six hundred men. With the exception of Goa and Batavia, Madras was, at this period, the wealthiest and most important of the European establishments in India. The English in the colony did not, however, exceed 300 men, of whom 200 were the soldiers of the garrison. The Indian Christians, converts or descendants of the Portuguese, amounted to three or four thousand. The remainder, comprising Armenians, Mohammedans, and Hindoos, (chiefly the latter,) carried the whole population of the Company's territory to about 250,000. The French force, including the land party, consisted of 1000 or 1100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and 400 Caffres or blacks of Madagascar from the Mauritius. The town, which was very ill fortified, sustained a bombardment from the ships for five days, when the inhabitants, expecting an assault, capitulated. "They had endeavoured to save the place by the offer of a ransom; but Labourdonnais (who commanded the expedition) coveted the glory of displaying French colours on the ramparts of Fort St. George. He engaged, however, his honour to restore the settlement, and to content himself with a moderate ransom; and on these terms he was received into the town. He had not lost so much as one man in the enterprise. Among the English, four or five were killed by the explosion of the bombs, and two or three houses were destroyed. Labourdonnais protected the inhabitants, with the care of a man of virtue; but the magazines and warehouses of the Company, as public property, were taken possession of by the commissaries of the French."*

* Mill, iii. 47.

At this time, the settlements of the French in the Indian seas, were under two separate governments analogous to the English presidencies ; the one established at the Isle of France, which comprised that island and the isle of Bourbon ; the other at Pondicherry.* The latter government was at this time in the hands of Dupleix,—an able, ambitious, and crafty man, who had already begun to revolve those mighty projects which, after having repeatedly threatened with utter ruin the English interests in India, terminated in disaster to the French. Labourdonnais, in agreeing to restore Madras, had acted in conformity to an express article in his instructions from home, which peremptorily forbade him to make any permanent conquests. But Dupleix, who had other views, refused to sanction the convention, and shamelessly violated the capitulation. The English still possessed on this coast the settlement of Fort St. David, situated twelve miles S. of Pondicherry, with a territory still larger than that of Madras. A part of the inhabitants of the latter settlement had, after the violation of the treaty of

* The French first adventured to India in 1601, when two ships were fitted out from St. Maloes, but they never reached their destination. In 1604, Henry IV. incorporated the first French East India Company with a charter for fifteen years ; but the project was unsuccessful, and the Company was dissolved. In 1633, another French Company was formed, who attempted, without success, to colonize Madagascar. In 1672, a French force first appeared off the Coromandel coast, and captured San Tomé (Meliapoor), formerly in the possession of the Portuguese, but then belonging to the king of Golcondah. It was subsequently taken from them by the Dutch, and reverted to the native sovereign, of whom the French purchased the village and district of Pondicherry. Here, from the wreck of their establishment at San Tomé, rose one of the most splendid European settlements in India. In 1693, Pondicherry was taken by the Dutch, but was restored to the French by the peace of Ryswick in 1697, with its fortifications greatly improved,

ransom, made their way thither; and Dupleix lost no time in attempting the reduction of this place. He was foiled, however, in his first effort, by the advance of a native army of nearly 10,000 men, in alliance with the English; and on the subsequent defection of the Nabob, a second expedition was frustrated by the seasonable approach of an English fleet. A counter attempt on Pondicherry by Major Lawrence, supported by Admiral Boscawen, was equally unsuccessful. Shortly afterwards, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle terminated all hostilities between England and France; and in August 1749, in pursuance of an article in that treaty, Madras was delivered up with its fortifications much improved. The English at the same time took possession of the neighbouring Portuguese town of San Tomé; it having been discovered, that the Roman Catholic priests resident there, had aided, by their information, the designs of the French upon Madras.

It was during this war, that the superiority of European troops over the native armies was first established. A numerous arms, led by the son of the Nabob, was defeated before Madras by a single French battalion, principally by means of the precision and rapidity with which the artillery was manœuvred; and thus was the spell broken, which had long held the Europeans in timorous subjection to the native powers. To the French must be ascribed the discovery of the two grand secrets of military policy on which the subjugation of India has hinged; the weakness of the Indian armies against European discipline, and the facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored peace to Europe, did not terminate the contest in India. This continued to be carried on by the gover-

nors at Pondicherry and Madras, under the guise of auxiliaries to the native powers; for at this time began those complicated disputes and intrigues respecting the nabobship of the Carnatic, which had for their real object, to establish a paramount ascendancy in the peninsula.*

At the time that Nizam-ul-Mulk was first established in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, the subordinate nabobship (or deputy government) of the Carnatic district was held by a chief named Saadut Ulla Khan; who, at his death in 1732, left his nephew, Doast Ali, in possession of the appointment. The rajahs (or naiks) of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, who seem to have been little more than zemindars, were immediately accountable for their tribute to the nabob; and when, on the death of the Trichinopoly rajah in 1736, the zemindarship passed into the hands of his widow, a pretence was made for treacherously seizing the government, which Doast Ali conferred upon his minister and son-in-law, Chunda Saheb. In 1740, the Carnatic was invaded by a Mahratta army under Rago-jee Bonslah; and Doast Ali lost his life in an encounter with the invaders. In the following year,

* Mr. Mill remarks, that "the English were the first to draw the sword" in the cause of the native princes, "and from no higher inducement than the promise of a trifling settlement." Sahoojee, a descendant of Shahjee, having been expelled from the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David, and entreated the assistance of the English in recovering his dominions. Without provocation, or any other motive than the advantage of possessing Devi-cotah, as the reward of their co-operation, the English, in April 1749, despatched a body of troops with artillery, professedly to re-instate the fugitive rajah. In the issue, however, his cause was abandoned, as he was found to be without partisans; but Devi-cotah remained, by agreement with the reigning king, Pretaupa Singh, in possession of the English who had captured it. But this affair is a mere episode in the history of British India.—Mill, iii. 77—83.

they returned and laid siege to Trichinopoly. Chunda Saheb defended himself gallantly for three months, and was induced only by famine to surrender; on which he was sent prisoner, with his eldest son, to Satarah (or Sittara), then the declared capital of the Mahratta empire. Morari Row was left governor of the conquered province, and the whole of the lower countries south of the Coleroon, were thus placed under Mahratta dominion.

In the mean time, Sufder Ali, the eldest son and successor of Doast Ali, afraid to trust himself in the open city of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, took up his residence at Vellore.* Here he was assassinated by his relative Murteza Khan (Mortiz Ali), who aspired to the government, but was subsequently compelled to flee. Mahommed Saeed, the infant son of Sufder Ali, was then proclaimed nabob, with the concurrence of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who, about this period, found leisure to march to Arcot;† and his general, Khojah Abdullah, was appointed the nabob's deputy or guardian. Having recovered Trichinopoly and its dependencies from the Mahrattas, Nizam-ul-Mulk returned to Golcondah, accompanied by Khojah Abdullah, who did not live to return to the possession of

* Col. Wilks says, that he had gone to Vellore, not from any apprehensions, but to pass the festival at the house of his sister. The circumstance is immaterial.

† "He found the province in that state which illustrates the series of Indian revolutions··The Mahommedan deputies of every deputy's deputy, and the officer of every mud-fort or town, affected the fashionable designation of Nabob, as the first step towards independence; and so many of those important personages were announced at his first public levee, that he is said to have threatened with personal flagellation his *chob-dars* (or gold sticks in waiting) if they should dare thenceforth to announce any person by the title of *Nabob*."—Wilks, i. 254.

his lieutenancy. The Nizam then appointed Anwar-ud-deen Khan, who arrived at Arcot in April 1744, tainted with the suspicion of having poisoned his predecessor; and as he was the guardian of the young nabob, his character did not exempt him from the imputation of being secretly concerned in the subsequent murder of that unfortunate youth. He was, however, supported by Nizam-ul-Mulk, and was now formally appointed nabob.

It was this Anwar-ud-deen who was Nabob of Arcot (or of the Carnatic), when the French and English contended for Madras, and whom Dupleix treated alternately as friend and foe. He had arrived at Pondicherry soon after the capture of Chunda Saheb, and found in that fortress his wife and younger son, who had been sent thither for security on the first irruption of the Mahrattas. The sagacious statesman was not slow in perceiving the advantages which he might procure for his countrymen, if that chief could be restored to the government of the Carnatic. A communication was accordingly opened with the prisoner at Sattarah, through the medium of his family at Pondicherry; and a negotiation with the Mahrattas ensued, which terminated in the release of Chunda Saheb early in the year 1748. At the head of a few faithful partisans, he proceeded towards the Krishna, intending there to wait the communications of his friends. There, however, he was induced to engage in the service of the Polygar of Chittledroog against the Ranee of Bednore. A sanguinary contest between the hostile forces took place at Mycondah, south of the Toombuddra, in which the Polygar was slain; and Chunda Saheb, after having his eldest son killed by his side, was led prisoner to Bednore. The Ranee was desirous of retaining his captive; but Chunda

Saheb had surrendered to some Mussulman troops, to whose commanders he confided his ulterior views; and by one of those singular turns of fortune so frequent in eastern biography, their prisoner became their captain.

The death of Nizam ul Mulk, and the battle of Mycondah, took place on the same day. Nazir Jung, having gained possession of his father's treasures, then assumed the power and titles of Soubahdar of the Deccan. There was, however, a favourite grandson of Nizam ul Mulk, by his daughter, who had been for several years nabob of Bejapore, and was now a competitor for the succession, to the prejudice of six of the Nizam's legitimate sons. His name was Hedayet Mohy-ud-deen Khan; to which he now added the title of Muzuffer Jung (victorious in war). Chunda Saheb determined to seek the court of this young adventurer; and his proffered services were eagerly accepted. He explained the importance of securing the assistance of Dupleix, and pointed out the advantage of commencing operations in the Carnatic, where the connexions of Chunda Saheb were still in possession of most of the strong places. Dupleix, on his part, warmly entered into a confederacy which promised to render him the chief instrument of raising to power a viceroy of the Deccan, and a nabob of the Carnatic. A body of French troops, consisting of 400 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1800 disciplined native infantry, under the command of M. D'Auteuil, were permitted by the ignorant and unmilitary combinations of Anwar-ud-deen, to traverse the lower country without molestation, and to join his adversary, who advanced at the head of 40,000 men. Anwar-ud-deen took up a fortified but ill-chosen position under the hill-fort of Amboor, fifty miles west of

Arcot. His entrenchments were stormed by the French, and, on the third charge, carried. The Nabob was slain in the engagement, at the uncommon age of 107 years; his eldest son, Mofuz Khan, was taken prisoner; and his second son, Mohammed Ali, only saved himself by timely flight. With the wreck of his army, he reached Trichinopoly, of which he had been made governor under his father, distant nearly 250 miles from the field of battle. There he proclaimed himself the successor to his father, and solicited, for some time in vain, the assistance of the English in support of his doubtful pretensions.

Muzuffer Jung and Chunda Saheb marched without further opposition to Arcot, where, in assuming the state and receiving the obeisance due to their new dignities, they wasted the time that might have made them masters of Trichinopoly. They afterwards visited Pondicherry; and Dupleix, who received them with oriental display, was invested with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of the settlement. They did not march from Pondicherry till the end of October; and then, instead of proceeding to Trichinopoly, as Dupleix had advised, the urgency of their pecuniary wants induced them to direct their march to Tanjore, in the hope of levying a large contribution. By negotiation, by promises, and by stratagems, the Mahratta rajah of that place contrived to amuse and baffle them till the end of December, when intelligence was received from Dupleix, that Nazir Jung had already entered the province of Arcot, on his march to attack them; upon which they broke up their camp with precipitation, and, harassed by a body of Mahrattas, made a disgraceful retreat to Pondicherry.

On entering the province of Arcot, Nazir Jung

summoned Mohammed Ali to join his standard, and requested the English of Fort St. David to send him a body of Europeans.* Major Lawrence, accordingly, with 600 men, repaired to his standard. The French had marshalled their own forces and those of their allies in an excellent position, and the two armies were sufficiently near to skirmish; when thirteen French officers, displeased that they had not shared in the spoils of Tanjore, resigned their commissions in the face of the enemy, and infused terror and alarm into the troops they were appointed to command. D'Auteuil, deeming it no longer safe to risk an action, decamped by night towards Pondicherry. Chunda Saheb accompanied the French battalion, and behaved with distinguished gallantry during a difficult retreat. Muzuffer Jung, who had for some days been engaged in a secret negotiation with his uncle, finding that not a moment was to be lost, threw himself upon his mercy. His camp, deserted by its chief, was surprised, plundered, and destroyed; and on the evening of the ensuing day, not a man remained in the field, of the formidable confederacy which had disputed the empire of the Deccan.†

In the mean time, Dupleix, whose courage and confidence in his own resources never forsook him, sent an embassy to the camp of the victorious Soubahdar, offering terms of peace; and at the same time, he

* From the beginning of 1747, Mr. Mill says, the English had been intriguing both with Nizam ul Mulk and Nazir Jung, against the French. Dupleix, anxious to have two strings to his bow, and distrustful of the success of his allies, now endeavoured secretly to open a negotiation with Nazir Jung; and, according to his own account, it was the arrival of an English force in the camp of the Soubahdar, that alone prevented his embracing the proposals of the Frenchman.—Mill, iii, 93, 4,

† Wilks. i. 263.

entered into correspondence with some disaffected chiefs in his army, leaders of the Patan troops. The mission failed, of course, in its ostensible object; but Nazir Jung, whether "alarmed at the presence of so enterprising an enemy," or impatient at being detained from the pleasures of the harem and the chase, of both of which he was immoderately fond,—broke up his camp about the end of April, and returned to Arcot. Major Lawrence, fatigued with the duplicity which he encountered in his negotiations, and indignant at the weakness or treacherous conduct of his ally in withdrawing his army, retired to Fort St. David in disgust, leaving the field open to the machinations of the French.

While the Soubahdar was voluptuously reposing at Arcot, the French exhibited new symptoms of their activity and enterprise. A small body of troops sailed to Masulipatam at the mouth of the Krishna, (once the principal mart of that part of India,) and surprising it by night, gained possession of the place with a trifling loss. Another detachment seized the Pagoda of Trivadi, about fifteen miles west from Fort St. David. Mohammed Ali obtained permission to detach himself from the army of the Soubahdar, for the purpose of dislodging them from Trivadi: in this, he obtained assistance from the English, who were deeply interested in preventing the French from gaining a position so near to their own settlement. The experience of a single month was sufficient to shew, that no dependence could be placed upon either the military pretensions or the engagements of their ally; and Major Lawrence withdrew his troops about the middle of August. Upon this, the French immediately attacked Mahommed Ali, gained an easy victory, and forced him to flee to Arcot with only a few

attendants. Dupleix followed up this blow with his usual spirit and decision; and by a daring enterprise, led by M. Bussy, obtained possession of the stupendous rock of Ginjee, a fortress literally impregnable against the ordinary modes of attack, and deemed the strongest in the Carnatic.*

This last exploit disturbed the voluptuous tranquillity of the Soubahdar; and he offered to enter upon negotiation. The demands of the French were lofty; Nazir Jung, therefore, began his march to Ginjee. But it was now October, and his army was overtaken by the storms and floods of the monsoon. The Soubahdar kept the field; but, weary of the contest, he discovered an inclination to concede all that the French demanded. Dupleix negotiated at once with the Soubahdar and with the traitors in his army. He had just concluded a treaty with the former, when his commander at Ginjee received from the insurgents the concerted summons; upon which he marched with his whole force, attacked the camp of the Soubahdar, and was joined by the Patan traitors, by one of whom Nazir Jung was shot through the heart. Muzuffer Jung was now freed from his imprisonment, and invested with the authority of soubahdar, without tumult or opposition, although four brothers of the

* This fort, erected on a vast insulated rock, is situated about forty miles N.W. of Pondicherry. It was either built or repaired on an old foundation of the Chola kings, by an officer of the Rajah of Bejanagur in 1442, and was successively strengthened by the Mussulmans of Bejapoor, who possessed it from 1669 to 1677; by the Mahrattas, who held it from 1677 to 1698; by Zulfekkar Khan; and more especially by Saadut Ulla Khan. "The French," says Mr. Mill, "stormed the fortifications to the very summit of the mountain; and contemplating afterwards the natural strength of the place, felt astonished at their own success."—MILL, iii. 99. WILKS, i. 265.

deceased were present in the camp. Mohammed Ali, for the third time, fled from the field of action, and took refuge in his fort of Trichinopoly. The great difficulty now was, to satisfy the Patan nobles, to whose perfidy Muzuffer Jung owed his power. He parried their importunities by urging the necessity of forming his arrangements in concert with Dupleix; and the Frenchman's address was successfully exerted so as to induce them to compromise their extravagant pretensions, and to treasure up their resentments for a future day. In the conduct of this complicated scene of diplomatic dexterity and military boldness, Dupleix had certainly merited every mark of gratitude on the part of Muzuffer Jung; and he was now declared governor of all the Mogul dominions on the Coromandel coast, south of the Krishna, with Chunda Saheb for his deputy at Arcot.

Early in January 1751, the new Soubahdar of the Deccan left Pondicherry for Golcondah, attended by a body of 300 French and 2000 sepoys, under M. Bussy. The army had marched about sixty leagues (to Raichoutee), when it was discovered that the Patan chiefs were in revolt, and that they had seized a pass in front. They were attacked with great spirit, and the French artillery carried every thing before it; but in the pursuit, Nazir Jung was shot dead with an arrow. The scene of confusion was composed by the presence of mind of Bussy, at whose recommendation, Salabut Jung, the eldest surviving son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was present in the camp, was proclaimed soubahdar, and the army continued its march.*

* Mill, iii. 93—101. Wilks, i. 265—71. Dupleix, Mr. Mill remarks, is a favourite with Wilks, who attempts to vindicate him from the obloquy attaching to his conduct in these transactions. In his own Memoir, Dupleix affirmed, that, on concluding the treaty

" The Europeans in India, who had hitherto crouched at the feet of the meanest of the petty governors of a district, were astonished at the progress of the French, who now seemed to preside over the whole of the Deccan. The English, however," adds Mr. Mill, " sunk in apathy or despair, were so far from taking any vigorous measures to oppose a torrent by which they were likely to be overwhelmed, that Major Lawrence, on whose military talents and authority their whole dependence was placed, took the extraordinary resolution of returning at this juncture to England." This conduct receives some explanation from the Major's statement, that a fatal spirit of division had crept in among his officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of the conduct of the English. But the fact was, that the English interests on this coast had suffered material depression from the capture of Madras; besides which, the affairs of the Company, although they had, in some measure, recovered from the financial injuries they had sustained, continued to be regulated on the principles of a commercial monopoly; and it was with the apathy of surprise and consternation that their servants viewed the mighty machinery of political intrigue and military conquest, by which Dupleix was preparing the way for the subjugation of all India, and the consequent expulsion of every rival. No person in the English settlement seems to have viewed the state of affairs with a sufficient grasp of mind, until the arrival of Mr. Thomas

with Nazir Jung, he immediately wrote to his commander at Ginjee, to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived too late! The reader will feel little interest in the question of his veracity.

Saunders; "a man," says Colonel Wilks, "inferior, perhaps, to Dupleix in splendour of talents, and in all that constitutes the decoration of character, but not yielding to that distinguished statesman in the possession of a sound and vigorous judgement, a clear and quick perception, a constancy of mind not to be disturbed by danger, and a devotion to his country not less ardent and sincere. Mr. Saunders was altogether without instructions for the regulation of his conduct in so difficult an emergency; but the resources of his own judgement supplied what was defective in the views of his employers. The first object was, to enable Mohammed Ali to defend Trichinopoly against any sudden attack; and the next, to prepare the means of meeting his enemies in the field. The former was effected by sending a detachment of 600 men to his aid early in February. Mohammed Ali possessed not a single post north of the Coleroon; and Chunda Saheb's acquisition of Madura by a dexterous intrigue, deprived him not only of the resources of that district, but, by its intermediate position between Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly, rendered the revenues of the latter unproductive, and its possession precarious. The officer commanding the English reinforcement, failed in an attempt to retake Madura; and the cause of Mohammed Ali became still more desperate from the defection of a considerable proportion of his troops in consequence of that repulse. Chunda Saheb, after going through the usual formalities of receiving the homage of his subjects at Arcot, had prepared for the siege of Trichinopoly. His force, besides the French battalion, consisted of 12,000 horse and 5000 sepoys. The exertions of Mr. Saunders had not been able to oppose him, to the north of the Coleroon, with a larger force than

600 Europeans and 1000 sepoys; which, added to 2600 horse and 3000 regular and irregular foot, of Mohammed Ali, did not equal one half of the enemy's force. And this actual inferiority was further increased by a panic in the English ranks, in one of their earliest encounters; which, though afterwards relieved by one or two examples of steady conduct, prevented their attempting any thing of importance in a series of indecisive operations, which terminated in their retreating under the walls of Trichinopoly in the month of July."

It was at this crisis of affairs, that a young man of the name of Clive first appeared on the scene of operations, who was destined to act so brilliant and important a part in those transactions which have made his countrymen the masters of India. "Born," says Colonel Wilks, "if ever human being was born, a soldier and a statesman, Clive had already assumed alternately the civil and military character, as the interests of his country seemed to require."* When the capitulation with Madras was violated, Clive, then only a writer in the civil service, made his escape in a Mohammedan dress to Fort St. David; and when the siege of Pondicherry was undertaken, he was allowed to enter into the military service with the rank of an ensign. At that siege, as well as in the enterprise against Devi-cotah, he rendered himself conspicuous by his daring intrepidity. Upon the conclusion of the affair at Devi-cotah, Clive re-

* He was the son of a gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire, and being a daring, intractable, headstrong youth, was, at the age of nineteen, sent out as a writer to Madras, where his turbulent spirit, though he was not ill-natured, engaged him in quarrels with his equals, and rendered him obnoxious to his superiors. Lawrence, however, at an early period, pointed him out as a man of promise.

turned to his civil occupation; but no sooner did his countrymen resume the sword, than his own disposition and the scarcity of officers again involved him in operations far better suited to his restless, daring, and contentious mind. He had accompanied the troops sent for the defence of Trichinopoly, till after the affair at Volcondah; and had been employed by the Presidency in conducting the several reinforcements which they had attempted to forward. He was now a captain; and, eager to distinguish himself, he offered to make a diversion in favour of Trichinopoly, by a direct attack upon the Nabob's capital. This daring enterprise he undertook with a force consisting of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys; and to spare even these, Fort St. David and Madras were left, the one with only 100 men for its defence, the other with no more than 50. To command them, he had eight officers, of whom six had never been in action, and four were young men in the mercantile service of the Company, whom his own example had inflamed. For artillery, they had three field-pieces; and two eighteen-pounders were sent after him. Arcot was an open town, defended by a fort; the garrison, however, consisting of 1100 men, evacuated it at his approach, without firing a shot.* This diversion was attended with all the advantage which Captain Clive had foreseen. Chunda Saheb detached 4000 men from the army before Trichinopoly, who, being joined by 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and the troops of Arcot and Velore, entered Arcot. The fort was more than a mile in circumference; the walls were in many places ruinous, the towers inconvenient and decayed. In a brave but rash attempt to dislodge the enemy from the town,

* Major Wilks states, that they were struck with a panic on hearing that the enemy were marching through a dreadful storm, regardless of the fury of the elements.

Clive lost fifteen of his Europeans, and among them a lieutenant; and his only artillery officer, with sixteen other men, was disabled. Yet, for fifty days, did this extraordinary man find the means of making an effectual resistance. When the enemy attempted to storm at two breaches, one of fifty and one of ninety feet, he repulsed them with but eighty Europeans and one hundred and twenty sepoys, all who remained fit for duty; "so effectually did he avail himself of his feeble resources, and to such a pitch of fortitude had he exalted the spirits of those under his command." The arrival of a thousand Mahrattas, detached from the main body under Morari Row, who were marching to the assistance of Mohammed Ali, and of a small reinforcement from Madras, contributed to compel the enemy abruptly to raise the siege; and Captain Clive, with this assistance, in a short and active course of operations, completely cleared the province of Arcot of all that had opposed him in the field. The places of strength still remained, however, in the possession of the Nabob or his adherents.

In the mean time, Mohammed Ali, having more to dread from the desertion or mutiny of his own troops through his pecuniary exigencies, than from the attacks of the besieging force, had applied for assistance to the court of Mysore.* This Hindoo power had risen out of the wreck of the ancient kingdom of Bejanagur; and its government viewed with jealousy the elevation

* The fort of *Mahesh Asoor* (the buffalo-headed monster) pronounced Maheshoor, and now contracted to Mysore, appears to have been first made the seat of a petty lordship in 1524. Its *wadeyars* (lords) were, at first, tributary to the viceroy of Bejanagur, resident at Seringapatam; but at length, they acquired the ascendancy; and in 1610, Seringapatam itself became the seat of their power. In 1687, the Rajah of Mysore acquired, by purchase of Aurungzebe's general, the important fortress of Bangalore; it being judged politic, at that time, to encourage this rising state, as a counterpoise

H. Adlard sc.

THE ROCK OF TRITCHINOPOLY.

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of Chunda Saheb, who had formerly attempted its conquest. The importunities and unbounded promises of Mohammed Ali prevailed with the minister of the Mysore Rajah; and about the middle of February, 20,000 Mysorean troops arrived at Trichinopoly, including Morari Row's Mahrattas, a part of whom had assisted Clive when besieged at Arcot. Their arrival determined the Tanjore Rajah, who, till then, had remained neutral, to send 5000 men. Clive, who had been recalled to Fort St. David, was preparing again to take the field, when Major Lawrence returned from England, and put himself at the head of the reinforcement which it was now determined to send to Trichinopoly. In spite of the efforts of Dupleix, it joined the camp in safety.

The city of Trichinopoly is situated about half a mile from the southern bank of the river Cavery, at the distance of ninety miles from its mouth. About five miles higher up, the river divides into two branches, which, after separating to the distance of about two miles, again approach, and are prevented from uniting, about fifteen miles below Trichinopoly, only by a narrow mound; thus forming the peninsula known under the name of the Island of Seringham, and celebrated as containing one of the most remarkable edifices and most venerated pagodas in India. To this island, the French now retreated, not having the means to withstand the combined force opposed to them, and being, moreover, in want of provisions. Dupleix made the strongest exertions to reinforce and supply his army, but was baffled in every attempt. D'Auteuil, at the head of a large convoy, was first compelled to suspend his

to the dangerous power of the Mahrattas. By the gradual extension of its dominions, the House of Mysore had now become the most powerful state in the South of India.—See Wilks, i. ch. 3—7.

march ; was afterwards attacked in the fort to which he had retired ; and was at last taken prisoner. Chunda Saheb, deserted by his own troops, threw himself for protection upon the Tanjorine commander, on the promise of personal safety. He was immediately put in fetters by the faithless Mahratta, and, in a few days, murdered by his order.* The French, shortly afterwards, reduced to the greatest distress, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The sanguine anticipations to which this success gave rise on the part of the English, were soon destroyed by the disputes which now arose between the allies for the occupation of Trichinopoly. Among the inducements which Mohammed Ali had employed to gain the assistance of the Mysoreans, he had not scrupled to promise the possession of that fortress and its dependencies ; and the Mysorean chief insisted upon his fulfilling the engagement, to which the Nabob shewed no inclination. Intelligence of this dispute was a thunderstroke to Lawrence. The preservation of Trichinopoly, the importance of which appears to have been much over-rated, had cost the English dear ; and now it appeared, that it could not be retained by their perfidious ally, without a flagrant violation of honour and faith. The cession of the place to the Mysoreans would have enabled the English, at this crisis, to establish their Nabob, with little opposition, in the sovereignty of the Carnatic, and would have saved them two years of expensive warfare.

* Dupleix affirmed, that he was murdered by the express command of Major Lawrence; "which it is difficult," says Mr. Mill, "to suppose that Dupleix must not have known to be untrue." Major Wilks says, he was murdered at the instigation of Mohammed Ali; his head was immediately sent to that personage, and was afterwards sent to Mysore.

Instead of this, by leaving a garrison in the fort, they made themselves parties to Mohammed Ali's breach of faith, the ignominy of which they endeavoured to evade, by representing themselves as mere auxiliaries, who took no part in the political direction of the war.* Mohammed Ali, at length, engaged anew to cede the fort and its dependencies to Nunjeraj, the Mysorean general, at the expiration of two months. This delay was meant only to gain time; and before their expiration, the detection of treacherous intrigues on the part of the general, afforded a pretext for resisting the claim. The issue was, that the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs joined the enemy.

Early in January 1753, the two armies again took the field. The French had now greatly the advantage in numerical force; but, in the quality of their European troops, and in the capacity of their officers, they soon felt a remarkable inferiority.† Cautiously avoiding a close conflict, Dupleix's object was, to amuse Major Lawrence in a distant part of the province, and to protract the campaign, in the hope that Nunjeraj might succeed in starving Trichinopoly into surrender; and in the mean time, his superiority in cavalry enabled him to carry on a harassing warfare, by intercepting and attacking the English convoys. In this manner, the time was consumed till near the close of April, when an express reached Major Lawrence, that the English garrison had only three weeks' provision remaining in the fort. No alternative was left but to march to its aid. He was followed by the French;

* Major Lawrence, much to his honour, disapproved of the attempt to retain Trichinopoly after the promise to give it up.—Wilks, i. 382.

† Dupleix bitterly complained, that, with the exception of M. Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.

and this unimportant place once more became the seat of a tedious warfare. From the 6th of May, 1753, to the 11th of October, 1754, the most active operations were carried on. Neither were the French, with their allies, sufficiently powerful to reduce the place; nor had the English sufficient force to compel them to raise the siege. Severe conflicts took place, in some of which, decisive advantages, now on one side, then on the other, were on the point of being gained; but, when more than a year had been thus spent, neither party seemed nearer their object. "Never did English troops display more gallantry and good conduct," remarks Mr. Mill, "than in defence of the unimportant city of Trichinopoly." Nor could any cause be more worthless than the professed object of the contest; for the grand point in dispute was, whether or not the perfidious Mohammed Ali should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic.*

The English Company had, from an early period of

* The clearest and most detailed account of the military transactions of this period, will be found in the interesting volumes of Orme (History of Military Transactions in Hindoostan, 3 v. 4to.); to whose extreme accuracy, Colonel Wilks bears his testimony. In this extraordinary war, remarks the latter writer, "the operations of a handful of troops assumed the political importance, and outstripped the military glory of the mightiest armies." On one occasion, nearly 30,000 men, including 400 French and 1500 Sepoys, were defeated and foiled by Major Lawrence, with a force not exceeding 1040 men. The particulars of this wonderful achievement are given by Colonel Wilks, vol. i. pp. 301—305. Mr. Mill has not done justice to the British commander; denying to him the character of "a man of talents," while he admits that he was "an active and clear-headed soldier." (Mill, iii. 117.) It is impossible to read the detailed account of his achievements, without being satisfied, that he possessed a mind of very high order; steady and cool in danger, fertile in resources, prompt and skilful in enterprise, persevering in its purpose; to which must be added, the praise of a keener sense of rectitude, than most of those who were concerned in the contest. "The troops whom he commanded, both officers

the war, importuned the ministry with complaints, that, during the existence of a treaty of peace between England and France, they were oppressed by the burden of a dangerous war, produced by the ambition of a French governor in India. The subject had also formed the matter of remonstrance between the English and French governments; and it was at last agreed, that the dispute should be terminated by a distinct negotiation.* Dupleix, who had sacrificed his own fortune to the prosecution of his patriotic or ambitious views,† was now accused by the French Company of wasting their resources; and the tide of prejudice set in strongly against him both in France and England. It was ultimately agreed, that commissioners should be sent out from each country, to terminate the costly dispute; and in August, 1754, M. Godeheu, the French commissioner, arrived at Pondicherry, vested with authority to supersede Dupleix in

and men," Mr. Mill remarks, "appeared, by a happy contingency, to combine in their little body all the virtues of a British army" A strong presumption in favour of the talents of their general.

* Aware of "the passion for peace" which now animated his employers, Dupleix had opened a negotiation with Saunders, the governor of Madras, in January, 1754; and to carry his point, he produced *forged* patents from Salabut Jung, placing the nabobship at his disposal. The detection of these forgeries appears to have led to the breaking off of the conference.—See Mill, iii. 122.—Wilks, i. 338.

† On delivering in his accounts with the Company to his successor, it appeared that he had disbursed nearly three millions of rupees more than he had received during the course of the war. A great part of this sum was furnished out of his own estate, and the rest from monies borrowed at interest, upon his own bonds, from the French settlers at Pondicherry. The Company refused to pay the balance which he claimed; and a lawsuit which he commenced against them, was put a stop to by the French Government. All he could obtain was, letters of protection to secure him against his creditors; an unworthy requital of his services. Voltaire says, he died of grief and vexation ("*chagrin*").—Mill, iii., 130, 133.

the government of all the French possessions in India. On the 11th of October, a suspension of arms was established for three months; and, on the 26th of December, a provisional treaty was signed at Pondicherry, by which "every thing for which they had been contending, was gained by the English; every advantage of which they had come into the possession, was given up by the French." By the stipulation, to withdraw effectually from interference in the affairs of the native princes, Mohammed Ali was left, in fact, Nabob of the Carnatic. And by the stipulation to arrange the territorial possessions of the two nations on the principle of equality, the important acquisition of the four Circars recently ceded by the Soubahdar,* was resigned by the French. Till the ratification of the treaty by the two Companies, the contracting parties were to abstain from hostilities, and their possessions were to remain as they were. In a short time after the conclusion of the treaty, both Saunders (the Madras President, who had acted as English commissioner in the negotiation) and Godeheu took their departure for Europe; pleasing themselves with the idea, that they had succeeded in establishing peace between the two nations in India.

"Never," continues Mr. Mill, "was expectation

* In the latter end of 1753, Bussy obtained for his countrymen, in reward of the eminent services he had rendered to the Soubahdar, the four important provinces of Mustafa-nagur (or Condapilly), Ellore, Rajamundry, and Chicacole, called the Northern Circars; which made the French masters of the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles, from Medapilly to the Pagoda of Juggernaut. The first article of the treaty provided, that both Companies should "renounce for ever *all* Moorish government and dignity."—See Mill, iii. 126, *note*. Col. Wilks contends, that the treaty related only to the Carnatic, and that Bussy continued to possess his government.

more completely deceived. Their treaty procured not so much as a moment's repose. The English proceeded to reduce to the obedience of their nabob, the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly. The French exclaimed against these transactions as an infringement of the treaty with Godeheu ; but, finding their remonstrances without avail, they followed the English example, and sent a body of troops to reduce to their obedience the petty sovereignty of Terriore." Murteza Ali Khan, the governor of Velore, disputed the authority of the Nabob, and a large detachment of troops from Madras accompanied the force which was sent to compel his submission. Murteza Khan applied to the governor of Pondicherry, who informed the English Presidency, that he regarded their proceedings at Velore as a violation of the treaty, and that he should commence hostilities, if their troops were not withdrawn. This threat produced its effect. The disturbances in Madura and Tinnevelly, however, were prolonged for several years, with much uneasiness and loss to the English.

In the mean time, the French appear to have put the same construction on the treaty as the English ; regarding it as restraining them only from hostilities against their European rivals. About the same time that the English invaded Madura, Salabut Jung, accompanied by Bussy and the French troops, marched against the kingdom of Mysore, to extort arrears of tribute. Upon this emergency, the Mysorean army before Trichinopoly (for the Mysoreans had refused to abandon their pretensions, upon the conclusion of the treaty between the English and the French) was recalled. As, however, Mysore was threatened at the same time by an army of Mahrattas under Balajee Row, its government were glad to acquire the pro-

tection of the Soubahdar, by acknowledging his authority, and paying as large a sum as they were able to raise.

The situation of Bussy at the court of the feeble-minded Salabut Jung, was a difficult and precarious one. He was opposed by a numerous party whose views were obstructed by his personal influence, and whose jealousy was excited by his success. His enemies succeeded at length in wakening the distrust of the Soubahdar, and the French troops were ordered to quit his territories without delay. "Bussy, in expectation, probably, that the necessities of the Soubahdar would speedily make him eager to retract his command, shewed no hesitation in commencing his march. It was continued for eight days without interruption; but his enemies had a very different intention from that of allowing him to depart in safety. When he approached the city of Hyderabad, he found his progress impeded by large bodies of troops, and the road obstructed by all the chiefs of the neighbouring countries, who had orders to intercept his march. Upon this, he resolved to occupy a post of considerable strength, adjoining the city of Hyderabad; to defend himself, and try the effect of his arms and of his intrigues among the chiefs, whom he well knew, till the reinforcements which he expected from Pondicherry, should arrive. Though surrounded by the whole of the army of the Soubahdar, and so feeble in pecuniary means, that his sepoys deserted for want of pay, and he durst not venture them in sallies for fear of their joining the enemy, he found the means of supplying himself fully with provisions, and of resisting every attack, till his succours arrived; when the Soubahdar sent to demand a reconciliation, and he was restored to a still higher degree

of influence and authority than he had previously enjoyed.

"Among the means which had been employed to reconcile the mind of Salabut Jung to the dismissal of the French, was the prospect held up to him of replacing them by the English. No sooner, therefore, were the measures against Bussy devised, than an application was made for a body of troops to the Presidency of Madras. To the Presidency of Madras, few things could have presented a more dazzling prospect of advantage; and in any ordinary situation of their affairs, the requisition of the Soubahdar would have met with an eager acceptance. But events had before this time taken place in Bengal, which demanded the utmost exertions of the English from every quarter; made them unable to comply with the proposal of the Soubahdar; and thenceforward rendered Bengal the principal scene of the English adventures in India." *

Jaffier Khan, to protect themselves against whose exactions, the Company first obtained the imperial firmauns, exempting their merchandise from duty,† was succeeded, in 1725, by his son, Sujah Khan. At his death, in 1739, his brother Aliverdi, by means of his influence at Delhi, obtained his nomination to the viceroyalty, which now included the province of Bahar; and Sereffraz Khan, the son of Sujah, lost his life in the contest with his uncle. Aliverdi governed his territories with unusual humanity and justice; and to the splendid ability and unwearied perseverance with which he defended them, it was entirely owing, that the Mahrattas, who had spread themselves at that time over a great part of Hindostan Proper, were unable to effect the conquest of Bengal. But the produce

* Mill, vol. iii. p. 136, 7. † See p. 24, of this volume.

of his dominions was greatly impaired, and his subjects were grievously harassed, by their ruinous incursions. At one time, they had possessed themselves of almost the whole of Orissa; while in Bahar, two Afghan officers, having murdered the Nabob, Aliverdi's own nephew, erected the standard of revolt, supported by a formidable body of Mahrattas and Dooraunees. Aliverdi, with a very inferior force, gained a complete victory, the Afghan lords being slain in the battle. The Mahrattas, however, only halted at Midnapoor, till the Soubahdar came up with them, drove them into Orissa with great slaughter, and even recovered Cuttak, the capital. But he was obliged to leave the province in so defenceless a condition, that the Mahrattas were not long deprived of their former acquisitions. During the infirmities of his latter years, Aliverdi purchased some repose by a tributary payment. He died in April 1756, at the age of eighty, and was succeeded, without opposition, (having never had a son,) by his adopted heir, the eldest son of his youngest nephew, Suraja Dowla.

This weak and vicious young prince had, even during the life of Aliverdi, manifested an aversion towards the English; and it was not long before the shelter given at Calcutta to a revenue-officer in the service of his uncle, the governor of Dacca, led to open hostilities. The Presidency, anxious to appease the new Soubahdar, humbly and timidly offered to submit to any conditions which he might please to impose; and trusting to the efficacy of their pacific representations, they neglected too long the means of defence. The Soubahdar was avaricious, and Calcutta presented to his imagination a glittering prize. The English factory at Cossimbazar had already been seized. The outposts of Calcutta were attacked on the 18th of June,

1756; and after a short and feeble experiment of resistance, it was resolved to take to the ships. In the general confusion that ensued, all plan and order, and indeed every humane and honourable consideration, appear to have been abandoned. The governor and captain-commander effected their retreat; and shortly afterwards, an apprehension arising on board the ships respecting the security of their situation, they began to move down the river. In vain were signals thrown out from every part of the fort, by those who were thus selfishly and cruelly abandoned to the mercy of a barbarous enemy, to induce the ships to return to their stations. Not a single effort was made, during the two days that the fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison. A single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and anchoring under the fort, have carried away every man. The place was soon carried by storm, and the garrison were committed, for security for the night, to a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon, which the English had used as a jail. It was now the most sultry season of the Bengal year; and the horrors of the Black Hole (as this prison was familiarly called) were by this circumstance fatally aggravated. Out of 146 unfortunate individuals thrust into this dreadful place, only twenty-three were taken out alive in the morning. Some expired very soon after being put in; others lost their senses, and died in a high delirium.*

* Mr. Mill, in his anxiety to divest himself of national partiality, goes rather too far when he says: "The English had their own practice to thank for suggesting it to the officers of the soubahdar as a fit place of confinement"—for *prisoners of war*. It was the number of the prisoners that rendered it so fatal. The Hindoos-

The news of the capture of Calcutta reached Madras on the 5th of August; and it was fortunate, that both Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive were upon the coast. The latter had returned from England with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in his majesty's service, and the appointment of deputy-governor of Fort St. David; and he had but just repaired to his government after assisting in the reduction of the Mahratta pirate, Conajee Angria, whose fleets had long been the terror of all commercial navigators on the western coast. It was now resolved, after a protracted debate of two months, that the re-establishment of the Company's affairs in Bengal should be pursued in preference to every other enterprise; and the command of the expedition was bestowed upon Clive, with powers independent of the Calcutta presidency. The force, which sailed from Madras on the 16th of October, consisted of five king's ships and five Company's vessels, having on board 900 European troops and 1500 sepoys. On the 2d of January, 1757, the armament arrived at Calcutta.* The garrison, after a cannonade of less than two hours, evacuated the place. The merchandise belonging to the Company was found almost untouched, having been reserved for the Sou-

tanees, it is said, had no idea of the capacity of the room; "and indeed the English themselves had none of it:" if so, it could not have been often employed. It is very true, that the "atrocities of English imprisonment," even at home, were, previously to the days of Howard, unhappily great and notorious. But how can this palliate the cruelty (Mr. Mill calls it thoughtlessness) of the Moslems? Is it credible that no "convenient apartment" could be found?

* The fugitives from Calcutta were found at Fulta, a town at some distance down the river, where the ships found it practicable to remain. Between this place and Calcutta a fort was captured, and a skirmish occurred. The other forts were abandoned at the approach of the English.

bahdar; but the houses of individuals had been thoroughly plundered. On the 10th, an attack was made upon Hooghly, a considerable town about 26 miles up the river; and the assailants no sooner mounted the rampart, than the garrison fled and escaped.

At this moment, news arrived of the re-commencement of hostilities between England and France. "The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans, and a train of field-artillery, which, if added to the army of the Soubahdar, would render him an irresistible enemy. The English were now very desirous to make their peace with that formidable ruler; but the capture of Hooghly, undertaken solely with a view to plunder, had so augmented his rage, that he was not in a frame of mind to accept from them any proposition; and his army received its orders to march. Happily for the English, the same spirit by which Dupleix was reproached for not having negotiated a neutrality between the French and English Companies in India, though the nations were at war in Europe, prevailed in the councils at Chandernagore. The rulers at that settlement refused to assist Suraja Dowla; and proposed that they and the English should engage by treaty, notwithstanding the war between their respective countries, to abstain from hostilities against one another in Bengal. Still, the power of the Soubahdar presented an appalling aspect to Clive; and no sooner had he received intimation of an abatement in the irritation of that enemy, than he renewed his application for peace. The Soubahdar received his letter, and even proposed a conference; but continued his march, and on the 3d of Feb., surrounded Calcutta with his camp. Clive resolved to surprise it before the dawn of the following morning.

The design was not less politic than bold; both as the audacity of it was likely to alarm a timorous enemy, and as the difficulty of procuring provisions, surrounded by a large body of cavalry, must soon have been great. The enterprise, however, was badly planned, and a thick mist augmented the causes of misfortune. The troops suffered considerably, and were several times exposed to the greatest dangers. Yet, they marched through the camp, and produced on the minds of the Soubahdar and his army the intended effect. Eager to be removed from an enemy capable of these daring attempts, Suraja Dowla was now in earnest to effect an accommodation. Overtures were received and returned, and on the 9th of Feb., a treaty was concluded, by which the Nabob (as he was styled by the English) agreed to restore to the Company their factories and all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed; to permit them to fortify Calcutta; and to make compensation to them for such of the plundered effects as had been brought to account in the books of his government. So greatly was he pleased with this treaty, that, two days after its completion, he proposed to conclude with the English an alliance offensive and defensive; a contract which the English eagerly formed, and which both parties ratified on that very day."*

In spite of the neutrality maintained by the French at Chandernagore, to which the English were so greatly indebted, Clive resolved upon taking possession of that settlement. The opposition of the Soubahdar was neutralized by his alarm on hearing that Ahmed Abdallah, the Dooraunee Shah, had taken Delhi; but he afforded protection to the French

* Mill, iii. 156—159

troops, who made their escape on the fall of the fort. It was taken by the English forces, not till after a gallant resistance, on March 23d, 1757. The time was now arrived when, according to one of the most peremptory of his instructions, Clive ought to have returned with all his troops to Madras, where the protection of the whole military force was rendered the more necessary by the expectation of the arrival of a French armament. The Presidency of Madras had not left themselves even troops sufficient to make head against the French then in the country. Clive, however, who saw only the opening which Bengal presented for exploits at once splendid and profitable, overlooked all other considerations, violated his instructions, and remained. He had not resolved on attacking Chandernagore without calculating the consequences, which embraced, in his view, not only the expulsion of the French, but the destruction of the Soubahdar. A complicated scene of intrigue now ensued, for the purpose of forcibly deposing Suraja Dowla, and making the best possible bargain with the adventurer, Meer Jaffier Khan, then paymaster-general of the Soubahdar's forces, whom it was agreed to elevate in his stead. The great temptation with the committee of government was, the supposed wealth of Suraja Dowla, of which the most extravagant calculations had been formed. Clive, it may be believed, looked further than any temporary gain: his views were less sordid, though equally unprincipled. The terms of this dishonourable confederacy being at length adjusted, the English took the field; and that which has been termed the battle of Plassy,* decided

* Plassy (Palasi) is in the district of Nuddea, 30 miles S. of Moorshedabad. The battle's being attended with so little blood-

the fate of Bengal. In this action, fought on the 23d of June, 1757, a native army of 18,000 horse and 50,000 foot, supported by fifty pieces of cannon, was broken up and put to flight by an English force, consisting of 900 Europeans, 100 Topasses, and 2100 Sepoys, with eight six-pounders and two howitzers. The battle was nothing but a distant cannonade, which was maintained during the greater part of the day, and sufficed to terrify the Soubahdar; and by the treacherous advice of those who had conspired against him, he issued orders for retreat. Clive then ordered the English to advance to the attack; and the victory, if it deserves the name, was accomplished, with the loss of twenty Europeans killed and wounded, sixteen Sepoys killed, and thirty-six wounded. Suraja Dowla fled to his capital, whence, finding himself deserted, he endeavoured to make his escape in disguise into Bahar. At Rajemahal, he was discovered by a man whom he had formerly treated with cruelty, and betrayed to the governor, who sent him prisoner to Meer Jaffier at Moorshedabad; and on the same night, he was assassinated.

When the confederates proceeded to divide the spoil, it was found, to the great disappointment of the English, that the whole of Suraja Dowla's treasures were inadequate to meet their demands; which, under the

shed, arose, according to Clive's own report, from two causes: first, the army was sheltered by so high a bank, that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief; and secondly, "Suraja Dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore, they did not do their duty upon that occasion." Mill, iii. 168. M. Law, the commander of the French forces, had received a summons to join the Nabob, and had reached Tacriogully, when he received reports of the battle of Plassy. "Had he immediately proceeded twenty miles further, he would, the next day, have met and saved Suraja Dowla," and a new turn might have been given to affairs.

heads of compensation for losses in the capture of Calcutta, donations to the squadron and army, and private plunder, amounted to 22,000,000 of *sicca rupees*, equal to 2,750,000*l*. They were obliged at last to consent to receive one half immediately, in specie, jewels, and other effects, and the other half in three yearly instalments.

It will now be necessary to suspend our narrative of the transactions in Bengal, and to return to the state of affairs in the Carnatic.

Upon the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. A splendid armament was fitted out, the command of which was given to the Count de Lally, a member of one of those Irish families which had transported themselves into France along with James II., and whose reputation for courage, added to his hatred of the English, pointed him out as the fittest person to crush the interests of the rival nation on the coast of Coromandel. It was even laid down in his instructions, that he should commence his operations with the siege of Fort St. David. The armament reached the coast on the 25th of April, 1758. They were soon followed and discovered by an English fleet; and an indecisive naval engagement took place, the only result of which was, the loss of a few men on both sides, and some damage to the ships. In the mean time, Lally had landed with a division of his troops, and had proceeded towards Fort St. David, with the whole force of Pondicherry; and the troops from the fleet were sent after him as fast as they came on shore.

"The English were thrown into the greatest alarm. So much was the power of the enemy now superior to their own, that they scarcely anticipated any other

result, than their expulsion from the country; and had Dupleix been still the guide and conductor of the enemy's affairs, it is more than probable, that their most gloomy apprehensions would have been realised. Not only had an overwhelming addition been made to a force, against which they had previously found it difficult to maintain themselves; but in the mean time, Bussy, in the northern parts of Deccan, had obtained the most important advantages, and brought upon the English the heaviest disasters. After the brilliant exploit of 1756, when he defended himself at Hyderabad against the whole power of the Soubahdar, and imposed his own terms upon his enemies, he had proceeded to the Northern Circars, where his presence was necessary, to collect the revenues, and, by an adjustment of the government, to provide for the future regularity of their payment. He began his march on the 16th of November of that year, with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys; leaving only a small detachment to attend the person of the Soubahdar. In accomplishing his progress through the country, he encountered no considerable resistance. The Polygar of Bobilee defended his fort to the last extremity; and exhibited the customary spectacle of Hindoo desperation,—the fortress in flames, and the people in garrison butchered by their own hands. He was excited to this desperation by the command to exchange the government of his present, for that of another district, on account of the annoyance he gave to a neighbouring chief, from whom Bussy had received a train of important services. When Bussy had nearly completed the arrangement which he intended to make, he received, about the 1st of April, letters from Suraja Dowla, inviting him, by the largest offers, to assist him in expelling the English from Ben-

gal. Bussy waited on his northern frontier, ready to march through Orissa into Bengal, as soon as he should receive satisfactory intelligence; but, learning the capture of Chandernagore, and the imbecility of the Soubahdar, he changed his purpose, and proceeded to the attack of the English establishments within the Circars. There were three factories, on three different branches of the Godavery, in a district remarkable for the excellence and cheapness of its cloths. They were places of no strength, and surrendered on the first requisition. Vizigapatam, however, was one of the places of greatest importance belonging to the English in India. It was a fort, garrisoned by 150 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; but so injudiciously constructed, that the attempt to defend it was unanimously determined to be vain. The van of Bussy's army appeared before it on the 24th of June; and a capitulation was concluded, that all the Europeans, both military and civil, should be regarded as prisoners, and all the effects of the Company as prize of war. The Sepoys and other natives, Bussy allowed to go where they pleased; he also promised to respect the property of individuals. 'And he kept his word,' says Mr. Orme, 'with the utmost liberality, resigning, without discussion, whatsoever property any one claimed as his own.'

"During these transactions, however, a great revolution was preparing in the army of Salabut Jung. He had two younger brothers, whom Bussy, acquainted with the temper of Oriental governments had advised the Soubahdar to provide with establishments, and every indulgence suitable to their rank, but from whom he had exhorted him carefully to withhold those governments and places of power which, in the

hands of the near relations of the prince, were the cause of so many revolutions in India. This prudent course was pursued till the period of the alienation from Bussy of the mind of the Soubahdar; when that prince was easily persuaded by his designing courtiers, to reverse the policy which the sagacity of Bussy had established. The elder of the two brothers, Bassalut Jung, was appointed governor of the strong fort and country of Adoni; and Nizam Ali, the youngest and most dangerous, was made governor of Berar, the most extensive province of Deccan, of which the Mahrattas now possessed the principal part.

"Towards the end of the year 1757, while a body of Mahrattas insulted Aurungabad, which was then the residence of the Soubahdar, a mutiny, under the usual shape of clamour for pay, was excited in his army. The utmost alarm was affected by the duan, or minister, who took shelter in a strong fort. The Soubahdar, without resources, was driven to dismay. Nizam Ali, who had acquired some reputation, and intrigued successfully with the troops, offered to interpose and allay the tumults, provided the requisite powers, and among other things the great seal of the soubah, were committed to his hands. The requisition was obeyed; and Nizam Ali, leaving only the name of Soubahdar to his brother, grasped the whole powers of the state. With an affectation of indifference, he committed the seal to his brother, Bassalut Jung, but under sufficient security that it would be used agreeably to his directions.

"Bussy received intelligence of these events in the beginning of January; he immediately began his march with the whole of his army; and by a road never travelled before by European troops, arrived in twenty-

one days at Aurungabad, a distance, by the perambulator, of nearly 400 miles. Four separate armies were encamped about the city: that of Nizam Ali from Berar; that of the soubah, of which Nizam Ali had now the command; that of Bassalut Jung from Adoni; and that of the Mahrattas, commanded by Balagee Row. The presence of Bussy, with his handful of Europeans, imposed respect upon them all; and every eye was fixed upon his movements. His first care was to restore the authority of the Soubahdar, whom the presence alone of the French detachment, which had vigilantly guarded his person, had probably saved from the assassination which generally forms the main ingredient of Indian revolutions.

"The two brothers at first assumed a high tone; and when obliged to part with the seal, exhibited unusual marks of rage and indignation. Bussy clearly saw that the safety of the Soubahdar, and the existence of the present government, demanded the resumption of the power which had been entrusted to Nizam Ali; but when the proposition of a large pension was made to him in lieu of his government, he had the art to interest his troops in his behalf, and Bussy found it necessary to temporize. To remove still further the umbrage which he found was gaining ground at the uncontrollable authority with which a stranger disposed of the powers of Deccan, and of the sons of the great Nizam al Mulk, he re-committed the seal of state to Bassalut Jung, but under securities which precluded any improper use.

"To provide a permanent security for his predominating influence in the government of the soubah, there was wanting, besides the distant provinces which yielded him the necessary revenue, a place of strength near the seat of government, to render him independ-

ent of the sudden machinations of his enemies. The celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, both from locality and strength, was admirably adapted to his views. It was at present in possession of the prime minister, the mortal foe of Bussy, the chief actor in the late commotions, and the assured instrument of others in every hostile design. By a sum of money, Bussy gained the deputy-governor to admit him secretly with his troops into the fort; and this invaluable instrument of power was gained without the loss of a man. As the utmost efforts, however, of the resentment of the minister were now assured, Bussy secured the means of rendering him a prisoner in the midst of the camp of the Soubahdar, at the very hour when he himself was received into the fort of Dowlatabad. These events alarmed Nizam Ali into submission; and an accommodation was effected, by which he agreed to divest himself of his government of Berar, and to accept of Hyderabad in its stead. When holding his court, to receive the compliments of the principal persons, before his departure for his new government, he was waited upon, among others, by Hyder Jung, the duan of Bussy. This personage was the son of a governor of Masulipatam, who had been friendly to the French; and he had attached himself to Bussy since his first arrival at Golconda. Bussy was soon aware of his talents, and soon discovered the great benefit he might derive from them. He became a grand and dexterous instrument for unravelling the plots and intrigues against which it was necessary for Bussy to be incessantly on his guard, and a not less consummate agent in laying the trains which led to the accomplishment of Bussy's designs. To give him the greater weight with his countrymen, and more complete access to the persons

and the minds of the people of consequence, he obtained for him titles of nobility, dignities, and riches; and enabled him to hold his durbar, like the greatest chiefs. He was known to have been actively employed in the late masterly transactions of Bussy; and an occasion was chosen, on which a blow might be struck both at his life and that of Salabut Jung. A day was appointed by the Soubahdar for paying his devotions at the tomb of his father, distant about twenty miles from Aurungabad; and on the second day of his absence, Nizam Ali held his court. Hyder Jung was received with marked respect; but, on some pretext, was detained behind the rest of the assembly, and assassinated. The first care of Bussy, upon this new emergency, was, to strengthen the slender escort of Salabut Jung. The next was, to secure the person of the late minister, of whose share in the present perfidy he had no doubt, and whom he had hitherto allowed to remain under a slight restraint in the camp. That veteran intriguer, concluding that his life was in danger, excited his attendants to resist, and was slain in the scuffle. Struck with dismay upon the news of this unexpected result, Nizam Ali abandoned the camp in the night, taking with him his select cavalry alone, and pursued his flight towards Boorhanpore, about 150 miles north from Aurungabad, with all the speed which the horses could endure. Thus was Bussy delivered from his two most formidable enemies, by the very stroke which they had aimed against him; and in this state of uncontrollable power in the widely extended government of Deccan, was he placed, when the arrival of Lally produced an extraordinary change in his views, and insured a new train of events in the soubah.

"The character of that new governor was ill

adapted to the circumstances in which he was appointed to act. Ardent and impetuous by the original structure of his mind, his early success and distinction had rendered him vain and presumptuous. With natural talents of considerable force, his knowledge was scanty and superficial.

" He began by what he conceived a very justifiable act of authority, but which was, in reality, a cruel violation of the customs, the religion, and, in truth, the legal rights of the natives. As there was not at Pondicherry, of the persons of the lower castes, who are employed in the servile occupations of the camp, a sufficient number to answer the impatience of M. Lally, in forwarding the troops to Fort St. David, he ordered the native inhabitants of the town to be pressed and employed, without distinction of caste, in carrying burdens and performing whatever labour might be required. The terror and consternation created by such an act, were greater than if he had set fire to the town and butchered every man whom it contained. The consequence was, that the natives were afraid to trust themselves in his power; and he thus insured a deficiency of attendants.

" On the 1st of May, Lally himself arrived at Fort St. David; and when joined by the troops from the ships, and those whom he had drawn from the forts in the Carnatic, he had, according to Mr. Orme, 2500 Europeans, exclusive of officers, and about the same number of Sepoys, assembled for the attack. The garrison consisted of 1600 natives, and 619 Europeans, of whom eighty-three were sick or infirm, and 250 were seamen. The place held out till the 1st of June, when, having nearly expended its ammunition, it yielded on capitulation. It was expected to have made a better defence; and the English

historians have not spared the conduct of the commanding officer. He had courage and spirit in sufficient abundance, but was not very rich in mental resources, or very accurate in ascertaining the conduciveness of his means. In consequence of instructions brought from France, Lally immediately issued orders for razing the fortifications to the ground. As soon as the fort capitulated, he sent a detachment against Devi-Cotah, which the garrison immediately abandoned; and on the 7th of June, he returned with the army, in triumph, and sang *Te Deum* at Pondicherry.

"The English, in full expectation that the next operation of Lally would be the siege of Madras, had called in the troops from all the forts in the interior, except Trichinopoly; and had even debated whether they should not abandon that city itself. All the troops from Tinivelly and Madura were ordered to return to Trichinopoly, and, together with the garrison, to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency.

"The great poverty, however, of the French exchequer; and the inability, created or greatly enhanced by the unpopular proceedings of Lally, of supplying its deficiencies by credit; cramped his operations, and sharpened the asperities of his temper.

"Despairing of funds from any other source, he resolved to devote to this object the next operations of the war. He at the same time recalled Bussy, against whose character he fostered the strongest prejudices, and the importance of whose transactions under the Soubahdar, he treated as interested pretence and imposture.

"Two plans presented themselves for the supply of his wants. All the western and northern districts of

the nabobship, evacuated by the English, lay open to his incursions, and, in the rents which might be collected, offered a certain resource. But the collection of rents was a tedious operation, and the expected produce, a scanty supply. The King of Tanjore, when pressed, in 1751, by Chunda Saheb and the French, had, among his other efforts to procrastinate and evade, given his bond, which still remained at Pondicherry, for 5,600,000 rupees. This sum, could it only be extorted from him, was a large and present resource; and in Fort St. David, as a prisoner, had been found the pretender to the throne of Tanjore, who might now be employed as an instrument to frighten the rajah into compliance. The expedition against Tanjore was accordingly undertaken; and, on the 18th of June, Lally took the field.

"From the terror of the natives, the alienation of the Europeans, and the want of money, the equipment of the expedition, in attendants, draught cattle, and even provisions and ammunition, was in the highest degree defective. In seven days the army arrived at Carical, not without suffering, at this early stage, both from fatigue and from hunger. At this place, Lally was met by a messenger from the King, who was desirous to treat. Lally understood, that some of his predecessors had been duped into impolitic delay by the artful negotiations of the King of Tanjore. He resolved to display superior wisdom, by a conduct directly the reverse. He proceeded to Nagore, a town accounted rich, about four miles to the north of Negapatnam; but the merchants had time to remove their most valuable effects, and the acquisition yielded only a trifle. On the 28th, he arrived at Kiveloor, the seat of a celebrated pagoda, which eastern exaggeration represented as containing enormous riches;

the accumulated offerings of the piety of ages. Had it been plundered by a Mohamedan conqueror, and the transaction recorded by a Persian historian, he would have described his hero as bearing away, in his fortunate chariots, a mountain of gold. Under the vulgar persuasion, Lally ransacked, and even dug the houses; dragged the tanks, and took away the idols; but no treasures were found, and the idols, instead of gold, were only of brass. Six unhappy Brahmans lingered about the camp, in hopes, it is probable, of recovering some of their beloved divinities. The suspicions of Lally took them for spies; his violence and precipitation took his suspicions for realities; and he ordered the six Brahmans to be treated as the Europeans are accustomed to treat the natives convicted as spies; that is, to be shot away from the muzzles of the guns. The King's army took the field; but, after a slight show of resistance, retreated to the capital, near which Lally arrived on the 18th of July. Conferences ensued: the King offered a sum of money, but greatly inferior to what was required. Lally offered to abate in his pecuniary demand, provided he were furnished with 600 bullocks and a supply of gunpowder. His agents were more prudent than himself, and suppressed the article of gunpowder, the deficiency of which, if known to the King, was not likely to improve his disposition to compliance; and the bullocks, the King observed, that his religion did not permit him to grant. The cannonade and bombardment began. After a few days, the King renewed his efforts for an accommodation. The obliquities of eastern negotiation wore out the temper of Lally; and he threatened to carry the King and all his family slaves to Mauritius. This outrage produced in the Hindoo a final resolution to

defend himself to the last extremity. He had early, among his applications for assistance, implored the co-operation of the English; and Captain Calliaud, at Trichinopoly, was commissioned to make all those efforts in his favour which his own security might appear to allow. That officer sent to him, without delay, a small detachment, which might feed his hopes of a more efficient support, and afford him no apology for making his peace with the French. But he was afraid to entrust with him any considerable portion of his troops; fully aware that the French might, at any time, make with him an accommodation, and receive his assistance to destroy the very men who had come to protect him. Upon this last occurrence, Calliaud inferred that the time for accommodation was elapsed, and sent an additional detachment. Lally continued his operations, and on the 7th of August, effected a breach.

"At this time, however, only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, not twenty cartouches a man for the troops, and not provisions for two days, remained in the camp. The next morning, intelligence was received, that the English fleet, after a fresh engagement with the French, had anchored before Carical, from which alone the French army could derive its supplies. Lally summoned a council of war out of thirteen officers; two only advised an immediate assault; and it was determined, in conformity with the opinions of the other eleven, to raise the siege. Intelligence of this resolution of the enemy, and of the negligence and security in which they encamped, encouraged the Tanjorines to attempt a surprise; which brought Lally and his army into imminent danger. After a disastrous march, in which they suffered severely from the enemy, from fatigue, and

from famine, they arrived at Carical, and saw the English fleet at anchor off the mouth of the river..... The French had steered for Pondicherry, and the admiral declared his intention of returning to Mauritius. Lally sent forward the Count D'Estaign to remonstrate with him on the disgrace of quitting the sea before an inferior enemy, and to urge him to renewed operations. Lally himself moved with the army from Carical on the 24th of August, and, having passed the Coleroon, hurried on with a small detachment to Pondicherry. He immediately summoned a mixed council of the administration and army, who joined in a fresh expostulation to the admiral on the necessity of repairing to Madras, where the success of an attack must altogether depend upon the union of the naval and military operations. That commander, representing his ships as in a state of the greatest disablement, and his crews extremely enfeebled and diminished by disease, would yield to no persuasion, and set sail with his whole fleet for Mauritius." *

Lally, abandoning his designs upon Madras, now resolved on an expedition against Arcot, with a view to relieve the cruel pressure of his pecuniary embarrassments. A correspondence was opened with the governor Rajah Saheb, (the son of Chunda Saheb) who consented to deliver up the place, on condition of receiving 13,000 rupees, and being taken into the pay of Lally; and on the terms of a pretended capitulation, on the 4th of October Lally made his entrance into Arcot. About this time, he was joined by Bussy. "That officer, who had conducted himself with such rare ability in the dominions of the Soubahdar, and with his handful of French had raised him-

* Mill, iii. 186—204.

self to an elevated station among the princes of India, had left the Soubahdar on a tottering throne, which nothing but his strong support could much longer uphold. The Soubahdar, when informed of the intended departure of the French, was too much amazed to believe the dreadful intelligence; and, when too well assured of its ominous reality, took his leave of Bussy, in an agony of grief and despair. Bussy, it is possible, took his departure with the more alacrity, as he hoped, through the representations which in person he would be able to make, that he could prevail upon Lally to send him back, and with augmented force, to his important station. Having, on his march, been joined by Moracin the governor of Masulipatam, who with his troops was also recalled, he left the march to be conducted by Moracin, and under a safe-guard granted to him from Madras hastened to the meeting with Lally.

"Bussy employed every effort to convince him of the importance of retaining the advantages which he had gained in the dominions of the Soubahdar; and the most pressing and passionate letters arrived from the Soubahdar himself. But Lally, who had all ready treated the representations of Bussy as the visions of a madman, and had told the governor of Pondicherry that he thought himself too condescending in reading his letters, lent a deaf ear to remonstrances which inwardly he regarded as the fruit of delusion or imposture. Apprized of the money which Dupleix had raised on his personal credit, he was not without hopes that Bussy might be possessed of similar resources; and he states, as a matter of great surprise, mixed with incredulity, the averment of Bussy, that in this way he was altogether incapable of aiding the general cause.

"To whatever quarter Lally turned his eyes, he found himself beset with the greatest difficulties. The Government at Pondicherry declared, that, in their exhausted situation, it was altogether impossible for them to find the means of subsisting the army at Pondicherry. When a council of war was called, the Count D'Estaign and other officers pronounced it better to die by a musket-ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger within those of Pondicherry. The idea of undertaking a siege, (Lally says,) the want of funds excluded from the mind of every one; but it was deemed expedient to bombard the place, to shut up the English within the fort, to obtain the pillage of the Black Town, and to lay waste the surrounding country."*

The continuance of the rains retarded the execution of this measure till the beginning of December, by which time Lally had not funds to ensure the subsistence of the army for a single week. On the 14th, they took possession of the Black Town; and a sally made by the English garrison, was repulsed with considerable loss on both sides. With the funds obtained by this capture, Lally began to construct his batteries; and, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to contend against, his want of officers upon whom he could depend, and the strenuous exertions of the besieged to destroy the works, he had succeeded in effecting a breach, and was preparing for the assault, when, on the 16th of February, an English fleet of six sail arrived at Madras, and a precipitate retreat became unavoidable. It is difficult to say whether the situation of the besieged, or that of the besieging force was the more critical. A very small quantity of gunpowder

* Mill, iii. pp. 205, 6.

remained in the camp; the bombs had been consumed three weeks before; the supplies, both of money and provisions, were exhausted; the sepoys were clamorous for their pay; and had the assault failed of its object, the French army must have been broken up.

The retreat of Lally, such was his unpopularity among his countrymen, was matter of triumph at Pondicherry; although, from that moment, the interests of the French colonists rapidly fell to ruin.—The arrival of an important accession to the English force, under Colonel Coote, in October 1759, decided the unequal struggle. Wandewash was attacked and carried on the 29th of the following month. Lally, who had advanced to attempt its recovery, was defeated, Bussy being taken prisoner. Chittapet fell two days after. Arcot surrendered after a short siege; and this was followed by the reduction of Devi-Cotah, Carical, Valdore, Cuddalore, and all the other forts in the possession of the French. By the 1st of May, the French army was confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped within four miles of the town, having in the mean while received further reinforcements. As the last remaining chance of prolonging the struggle for the preservation of the French colony, Lally, whose unconquerable fortitude and energy must command respect, turned his eyes towards the native powers. The adventurer, Hyder Ali, was now at the head of a formidable army; and though not as yet without powerful opponents, had nearly at his disposal the resources of Mysore. With him, Lally now entered into a negotiation; and an agreement was concluded, in virtue of which, the Mysorean chief undertook to supply a certain quantity of bullocks for the provision of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3000 horse and 5000 sepoys. A detachment of

the English army, sent to interrupt their march, was defeated; but, after remaining in the vicinity of Pondicherry about a month, the Mysoreans suddenly decamped in the night, being recalled by an emergency which deeply affected Hyder at home. The rains suspended further operations on the part of the English till December, when the active siege of Pondicherry was commenced. The French were now reduced to the last stage of privation. Lally himself was sick, worn out with vexation and fatigue; and the dissensions which contined to rage within the fort, had deprived him of almost all authority. On the 14th of January, Pondicherry surrendered to the English; and the council of Madras lost no time in levelling with the ground the town and fortifications of its once powerful rival. Thiagar and the strong fort of Ginjee still remained in possession of the French; but the garrisons, seeing no hope of relief, made but a feeble resistance. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, had already wrested from the French all their possessions in those important districts. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabar coast had been attacked and reduced by the English a few months before the fall of Pondicherry; and after the fall of Ginjee, on the 5th of April, 1761, the French had not a single military post left in India.

Lally's fate was as dreadful as it was unmerited. On his return to France, he was thrown into the Bastile, and thence removed to a common prison. The public indignation, encouraged by the French ministry in order to screen themselves, demanded its victim; and the grand tribunal of the nation, the parliament of Paris, found no difficulty in seconding the wishes of the ministry, and gratifying the popular clamour, by

condemning him to an ignominious death. "Thus," remarks Mr. Mill, "had the French East India Company, within a few years, destroyed three, the only eminent men who had ever been placed at the head of their affairs in India; Labourdonnais,* Dupleix, and Lally. It did not long survive this last display of its imbecility and injustice."†

In the mean time, Colonel Clive, with better fortune, if not better intentions, was prosecuting his daring plans of personal aggrandisement, at the expense or risk of every other interest. A commission had been received at Calcutta, from the Directors in England, new-modelling the colonial government, which was thenceforth to consist of a council of ten, with four governors, each of whom was to preside for three months in rotation. Clive did not conceal his resentment at finding himself passed over in this new establishment; and the council, (including the four gentlemen who were appointed governors,) convinced that he alone had sufficient authority to overawe the Nabob into the performance of his obligations, took upon them to set aside this high legislative act of the Company, and with one accord tendered to Clive the undivided office of president. With this invitation, he declares that he hesitated not one moment to comply. Shortly afterwards, advices arrived from Madras, that Fort St.

* Labourdonnais, on his return to France, was thrown into the Bastile, where he remained three years, and died soon after his liberation. He was one of the ablest and best governors which France ever sent out. The fate of Dupleix (see p. 47) may be regarded as almost retributive.

† "It was the son of this very man, who, under the name of Lally Tolendal, was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and by his eloquence and ardour in the cause of liberty, contributed to crumble into dust a monarchy under which acts of this atrocious description were so liable to happen."—See Mill, iii. pp. 235-6.

David had been taken by the French, that Bussy was on his march to join Lally, and that Madras was in jeopardy: the most earnest solicitations were subjoined, that as large a portion of the troops as possible might be sent, to avert the impending ruin of the Company's affairs in the Carnatic. Clive, however, chose to remain in Bengal, where he was master, rather than go to Madras, where he would be subordinate; and he determined not to lessen his power by sending troops to Madras, which the Presidency, after his own example, might forget to send back. An enterprise at the same time presented itself, which bore the appearance of a co-operation in the struggle, and afforded a pretext for detaining the troops. Rajah Anunderauz, one of the chief polygars in the Northern Circars, had invited the English in Bengal to co-operate with him in driving out the French, while Bussy was involved in the contest with the brothers of the Soubahdar. The project met with the decided condemnation of the council; yet Clive, disregarding all opposition, prepared his armament. It proceeded by sea, and its brilliant success atoned for the rashness of the enterprise. Masulipatam, the principal fort of the French on that part of the coast, was taken after a short siege; and the Soubahdar, who had advanced to the support of his allies, found it convenient, on his arrival, to transfer his friendship to the conquerors. A considerable territory about Masulipatam was ceded to the English: and the Soubahdar engaged to allow no French settlement to exist for the future within his dominions.

While the detachment from the Bengal army was engaged in these operations, the solicitude of Clive was attracted by an enemy of high pretensions in another quarter. The dominions of Jaffier Khan were threat-

ened with invasion from a powerful confederacy, which had for its ostensible head the *Shazada*, or eldest son of the Mogul Emperor, who had obtained the formal investiture of the Soubahship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and was supported by the Nabobs of Allahabad and Oude. The Emperor (Allumghire II.) was legitimate sovereign of Bengal, and as such, might seem to have had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to the government of that province. The Prince is stated to have offered to grant the English their own terms, if they would assist him in recovering his rights. But Clive, whose hardihood was seldom overcome by scruples, decided on the safer policy of opposing him.* The Prince and his confederates had advanced to Patna, when the treacherous conduct of the Nabob of Oude, who took that opportunity of seizing the fortress of Allahabad, compelled the Soubahdar of that province to march back, in order to recover his own dominions ;† and the unfortunate Shazada, bereft at once of friends and resources, was reduced to the necessity of soliciting a sum of money from the English general, as the requital of his withdrawing from the province. Upon these easy terms was Clive extricated from a situation of considerable difficulty; and so unbounded was the gratitude of Jaffier, that, after obtaining for his de-

* In fact, the claim of the Prince was a mere pretence on the part of the Soubahdar of Allahabad and the other leaders of the expedition. The Emperor was himself little better than a state prisoner at Delhi, and the Prince was a fugitive. He might, with equal pretensions, have claimed possession of the Deccan. Under these circumstances, we cannot agree with Mr. Mill, that "to oppose him was undisguised rebellion." All the soubahs had become independent hereditary principalities; and a tribute was all that could have been legitimately claimed.

† Being persuaded by the Soubahdar of Oude to throw himself upon his generosity, he was first made prisoner, and afterwards put to death.

fender the rank of an omrah of the empire, he bestowed upon him as a *jagheer*, the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company were bound to pay for the *zemindaree* of Calcutta and the adjacent territory, amounting to 30,000*l.* a year.

Scarcely had this expedition been thus fortunately terminated, and the detachment returned from the conquest of Masulipatam, than the Bengal Government were alarmed by tidings of a great armament, fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia, and destined for Bengal. The Dutch were not then at war with Great Britain, but their designs in sending out so large a force, might justly excite suspicion. Seven ships ascended the river, as far as a few miles below Calcutta, where they landed the troops, consisting of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays, who were thence to march to the Dutch factory at Chinsura. Although they had received encouragement from Jaffier, he was now easily induced to issue an order commanding them to leave the river, which afforded Clive a pretext for hostilities. A detachment under Colonel Forde was sent to intercept the troops; and of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen reached Chinsura, the rest being either taken prisoners or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful, the whole being captured. After this heavy blow, the Dutch, to prevent their total expulsion from Bengal, were contented to put themselves in the wrong by paying the expenses of the war; and Clive, aware of the irregularity of his interference, was well pleased to close the dispute, by restoring the ships, with all their treasure and effects. This agreement was ratified December 5, 1759. Early in the following year, Clive, anxious to lodge his princely fortune in his own country, resigned the government, and sailed for England.

Notwithstanding the dazzling success which had crowned Clive's political measures, and the immense fortune which he had contrived to secure for himself, he left the affairs of the Company in a most disordered condition, and the country by no means in a settled state. Before the conclusion of the Dutch treaty, intelligence had reached Calcutta, that the Mogul Prince was meditating a fresh invasion; and he had already entered Bahar, when the tragical death of his father, the unhappy Allumghire, enabled the Shazada to assume the state and title of Emperor.* The majesty of the imperial name had not yet wholly lost its influence on the minds of the natives; and it was now clear rebellion to resist him. The English, however, had no scruples on the subject, and they supported, as they were bound to do, their own ally. Meeran, the son of Jaffier, took the field, and was joined by the Bengal forces under Colonel Calliaud. Near Patna, an engagement with the imperial army took place, in which the latter was defeated, and the Emperor fled to Bahar. He was still able, however, to maintain a feeble contest; and, conscious of his weakness, he invoked the aid of the Dooraunee Shah, who now commanded the whole of the upper country. While he was awaiting the result of his application, the *Naib* of the Poorneah district of Bengal, had raised an army, with which he was marching to join him, when he was overtaken and attacked by Calliaud and Meeran. In consequence of this defeat, the Naib marched towards the north, closely pursued by the enemy, notwithstanding that the rains had set in with unusual violence; but, on the fourth night of the pursuit, (July 2,) the tent of Meeran was struck by lightning, and he, with

* See vol. i. p. 357.

his attendants, was killed on the spot. The death of their leader is, to an Indian army, the signal to disband; and to prevent this disaster, the English commander marched back with all possible expedition to Patna, and distributed the troops into quarters for the rainy season.

When Clive resigned the government, his influence was successfully exerted to procure the nomination of Mr. Vansittart as his successor, who was called from Madras. On his arrival in July, he found the treasury at Calcutta empty; the English troops quartered at Patna, were mutinous and deserting for want of pay, the allowance paid by the Nabob being several months in arrear; the government of Jaffier was in a state approaching to dissolution; and the seeds of violent discord were sown in the English council. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were totally dependent upon Bengal for pecuniary resources, while the income of the Company was scarcely sufficient for the current expenses of Calcutta. Some change, by which the revenue could be placed on a par with the expenditure, was indispensable.* From the administration of Jaffier, resigned as he was to a set of unworthy favourites, old, indolent, voluptuous, estranged from the English, and without authority, no change for the better was to be expected. Under these circumstances, it was resolved to compel Jaffier to surrender the powers of government into the hands of his son-in-law, Meer Causim; who, in return, agreed to assign to the Com-

* They might have retired, Mr. Mill remarks, from all concern with the government of the country, contenting themselves with the protection of Calcutta, for which a small body of troops and a small expenditure would have sufficed. But, "not to speak of the golden hopes which had been so fondly cherished," it was justly feared, that the place and power which the Company might resign, would be seized by the French or the Dutch.

pany the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, to pay the balance due from Jaffier, and to present five laks towards the expenses of the war in the Carnatic. Jaffier was still to have retained the honours of royalty; but not deeming himself safe at Moorshedabad, his capital, he desired permission to lead a private life at Calcutta, under the English protection.

By the money obtained from the new Nabob, the English commander, Major Carnac, was enabled to take the field early in the year 1761; and advancing towards the Emperor, who was encamped at Gyah Maunpore, he forced him to an engagement, and gained a victory. Immediately after the battle, the Major sent to him the Rajah Shitabroy, to make an overture of peace, which the Emperor at first declined, but, on second thoughts, eagerly closed with. Major Carnac paid his compliments to him as Emperor in his own camp, and, after the usual ceremonies, conducted him to Patna. Meer Causim, who hastened thither to observe and share in these proceedings, consented, on receiving investiture as soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to pay an annual tribute or revenue of twenty-four laks of rupees. After a short stay at Patna, Shah Allum accepted the invitation of the Nabob of Oude, of Nujeeb ud Dowla, and other Affghan chiefs, (to whom his cause had been recommended by the Dooraunee Shah,) to place himself under their protection, and marched towards his capital, being escorted by the English commander as far as the frontier of Bahar.

The remainder of the presidency of Vansittart was occupied with a disgusting series of disputes, disorders, and misconduct on the part of the Company's servants, into the detail of which it is unnecessary to enter.

Vansittart appears to have been a meritorious governor, but his authority was a divided one. Circumstances had given the majority to his opponents in the council, who availed themselves of their ascendancy, to thwart his measures, and to push their own fortunes, at the expense not only of justice and right, but of decency; and the violent proceedings of Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, drove the Nabob at length into open hostility. The immediate cause of the war was the illegitimate private traffic carried on by individuals in the Company's name, in defiance of the native government, and with the most shameless extortion and oppression.* In vain Vansittart en-

* In a letter to the Governor, dated March 26, 1762, Meer Causim complained, that, "from the factory of Calcutta to Cossimbazar, Patna, and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, officers, and agents in every district of the government, acted as collectors, renters, and magistrates, and setting up the Company's colours, allowed no power" to the Nabob's officers. "And besides this, the gomastahs and other servants in every district, in every market and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, betel-nut, and other things; and every man with a Company's *dustuk* in his hand, regards himself as not less than the Company." "At the present time," remarks Mr. Mill, "it is difficult to believe, even after the most indubitable proof, that it became a common practice, to force the unhappy natives, both to buy the goods of the Company's servants, and of all those who procured the use of their name, at a greater (than the market price), and to sell to the Company's servants the goods which they desired to purchase, at a less than the market price. The native judges and magistrates were resisted in the discharge of their duties, and even their functions were usurped." "Many black merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of any young writer in the Company's service, by loans of money, and, under this sanction, harassed and oppressed the natives. So plentiful a supply was derived from this source, that many young writers were enabled to spend 1500*l.* and 2000*l.* per annum, were clothed in fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day." Mill, iii. 291—3. See also pp. 317, 323, and 459. The depopulation of the country, the failure of trade, and the defalcation of the revenue, could not but be the result of this nefarious system.

deavoured to check these enormities. His representations were treated by the council as the effect of a weak and interested subservience to the views of the Nabob; while they were themselves deriving vast emoluments from the abuses the existence of which they denied. Hitherto, Meer Causim had conducted his government with no ordinary success. He had reduced to obedience all the rebellious zemindars; had discharged the whole of his pecuniary obligations to the English; and had made considerable progress in disciplining and arranging his army, as far as possible on the European model. In this, he was assisted by Sumroo, a German adventurer, not destitute, apparently, of talent and enterprise, but an unscrupulous instrument of the sanguinary mandates of his ferocious master. Ellis precipitated the rupture by surprising Patna; but it was retaken by the Nabob's troops, and he, together with a number of his countrymen, was made prisoner, while Mr. Amyatt and some other Englishmen were killed in an unsuccessful struggle. The Calcutta Government immediately re-invested Meer Jaffier with the ensigns of royalty; and the English forces marched to the encounter with Meer Causim's troops. The conflict was long, severe, and, for a time, even doubtful; such was the improved discipline of the native army. And even after victory had declared for the British, they were baffled during nearly a month by a strong intrenchment, behind which the enemy retired. Causim, exasperated by defeat, indulged his appetite for slaughter. Several natives of wealth and rank were put to death by his command; and when his passions were inflamed to the highest degree by the storming of his lines, and the subsequent reduction of his strongly fortified capital, Mongheer, he gave orders for the massacre of Mr.

Ellis and all the English prisoners, with the exception of a surgeon, whose professional skill had recommended him to his favour.

After the loss of Patna, Meer Causim resolved to throw himself upon the protection of Sujah Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, to whose army the disciplined sepoys of Bengal were an important reinforcement. At that time, the Emperor and his vizir (for to that dignity the Nabob of Oude had been elevated) were encamped at Allahabad, preparing an expedition against Bundelcund, the predatory inhabitants of which district had refused to pay their revenues. Meer Causim offered to reduce them with his own battalions. Crossing the Jumna, he took one of their fortresses, and so alarmed them by his artillery and his disciplined sepoys, that they hastened to make their submission; and Sujah Dowla, who, under pretence of supporting Meer Causim, aimed at the sovereignty of the eastern provinces, marched with his allies to Benares, to make preparations for his ambitious enterprise. Early in April 1764, he crossed the Ganges; and on the 3d of May, he encountered the English, commanded by Major Carnac, under the walls of Patna, from whom he sustained a decisive repulse. Soon after this, Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro arrived from Bombay with a reinforcement of troops, and took the command of the army. The rains suspended all hostile operations until September, when Munro advanced towards the Soane; and on the 22d of October, he encamped within shot of the enemy's intrenchment, near the fort of Buxar. The battle which ensued on the day following, was one of the most critical and important victories in the history of the British wars in India. It broke completely the force of Sujah Dowla, the only Mogul chief who

retained any considerable strength; it placed the Emperor himself, who had been little better than his state-prisoner, under the protection of the English, and left them, without dispute, the greatest power in India.

In the mean time, the Council and the Company's servants were pushing to the utmost their infamous extortions. The interests and the commands of their employers were alike slighted, in their shameless scramble for the spoils of oppressed and exhausted India. Meer Jaffier was now "no more than a banker for the Company's servants," who could draw upon him for presents as often and to as great an amount as they pleased. Harassed on all sides, he complained bitterly, but in vain, of the fresh and rapacious demands which were made upon him. The importunities to which he was subjected, conspired with the infirmities of age and a constitution exhausted by debauchery, to hurry him to his grave. He died at Moorshedabad in Jan. 1765.

Shah Allum might now have recovered the immediate sovereignty of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa at the word of the English; and he would willingly have bestowed upon them the *soubahdaree*, as he had repeatedly offered the *duannee* or collection of the revenue. It suited, however, the crooked, selfish policy of the men who then represented the English in India, to shun the appearance and name of sovereignty, while they grasped all the power; and Nujeeb ud Dowla, the next surviving son of Jaffier, was invested with the shadow of royalty. In the mean time, the disastrous events which followed the rupture with Meer Causim, together with the reports of mutual crimination transmitted to Europe by Vansittart and his opponents, had roused the Directors to some acts of authority. After considerable discussion and stre-

nuous opposition, it was determined by a small majority of the Court, to send out Clive a second time, (now raised to the peerage,) armed with extraordinary powers, and uniting in his own person, the offices of commander-in-chief, president, and governor in Bengal. Although he had quitted India with an act of insult and defiance to his employers,* and had, after his arrival in England, commenced a suit against the Company in the Court of Chancery for the proceeds of his *jagheer*, which the Directors withheld, all objection was overruled by the conviction, that he was the only man capable of retrieving their disordered and desperate affairs.

On his arrival at Madras in April 1765, Clive learned that the dangers, the alarm of which had led to his being sent out, were entirely dissipated; that the troops were obedient; that Meer Causim had been expelled and all his supporters subdued; that the Emperor had cast himself upon the protection of the English; and that the Nabob Meer Jaffier was dead. These changes seemed to justify his entering upon a line of policy very different from the cautious and temporising system which had been hitherto pursued.† He ar-

* In one of the last of the despatches to which he affixed his name, he complained of the asperity of a letter received from the Directors, as unworthy of themselves or the parties addressed, "either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen." The Directors, roused to resentment by "the gross insults upon and indignities offered to the Court," in this document, sent out an order to dismiss from the service all the parties still remaining in India, who had signed it.—Mill, iii. 284.

† In a private letter, dated seven days after his arrival, Clive uses these memorable expressions: "We have at last arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen; I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. It is scarcely hyperbole to say, to-morrow, the whole Mogul empire is in our power." In a letter of the same date to his private agent in London, he directed him to

rived at Calcutta in May, and immediately assumed the whole power of government, civil and military. Towards the end of June, he set off on a progress up the country, for the purpose of forming his projected arrangements with the new Nabob, and of concluding a treaty of peace with Sujah Dowla. The first negotiation was easily managed. Whatever the English were pleased to command, Nujeeb ud Dowla was constrained to obey. He was now required to resign the whole of the revenues, and to make over the management of the *soubahdaree*, with every advantage arising from it, to the Company; by whom an annual pension of fifty laks of rupees was to be allowed to himself. There was not much more difficulty in making arrangements with the Vizir. Lucknow, his capital, and the important fortress of Allahabad had been captured by the English; and the desperate state of his affairs had induced him to throw himself upon the generosity of the conquerors, by placing his person in their hands. He was received by General Carnac with the highest marks of distinction; and on Clive's arrival, it was agreed to restore to him the whole of his dominions, with the exception of Allahabad and Corah, which were to be reserved for the Emperor.* Of these territories, Shah Allum was subsequently put in possession; besides which, he was to continue to receive a revenue of twenty-six laks of rupees from the

invest all the money he had in the funds or elsewhere, and as much as could be borrowed in his name, without loss of a minute, in East India stock.—Mill, iii. 332, 3.

* The motives which led to this arrangement sprang, Mr. Mill says, from the conviction that it would cost the Company more to defend the territory of the Vizir, than it would yield in revenue; that Sujah Dowla was more capable of defending it than the Emperor, to whom it had formerly been promised; and that, in his hands, it might form a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghauns.

provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the duannee being vested in the Calcutta government. The imperial *firmaun* conveying the grant of the duannee, and thereby constituting the Company masters in name and responsibility, as well as in power, of that extensive portion of the empire, was dated August 12, 1765. They obtained from the Emperor at the same time, a formal confirmation of their possessions throughout the nominal extent of the Mogul empire.

The next measure to which Clive, agreeably to his directions, turned his attention, was the reduction of the military expenses, which absorbed all the revenues of the Company. He began by reducing the extraordinary allowances, which, under the name of *batta*, had been hitherto given to the officers during the time of campaign. An extensive and formidable conspiracy was the result, which was defeated by the boldness and energy of Clive. Some of the officers, upon profession of repentance, were allowed to resume the service: others, including Sir Robert Fletcher, were tried and cashiered. On the 8th of May, 1766, Nujeeb ud Dowla died suddenly. His brother, Syeff ud Dowla, a youth of sixteen, was then elevated to the nominal office of Nabob; "a change of less importance now, than that of the chief of a factory." In the following February, Lord Clive embarked for England, leaving the government in the hands of a Select Committee, with Mr. Verelst as president.

The arrangements established by Clive, produced a brilliant appearance of immediate prosperity, but were fraught with the elements of future difficulty and distress. The policy upon which he prided himself, was that of a form of government resting upon deception; an administration carried on in the name of the Soubahdar or Nabob, but in reality by the Company.

" The collection of the revenues was still made as for the exchequer of the Nabob ; justice was still administered by his officers, and in his name; and all transactions with foreign powers were covered with the mask of his authority. For the benefit of certain false pretexts, which imposed upon nobody, the government of the country, as far as regarded the protection of the people, was dissolved. Neither the Nabob nor his officers dared exert any authority against the English, of whatsoever injustice and oppression they might be guilty. The *gomastahs* or Indian agents employed by the Company's servants, not only practised unbounded tyranny, but, overawing the Nabob and his highest officers, converted the tribunals of justice themselves into instruments of cruelty. While the ancient administration of the country was rendered inefficient, this suspension of the powers of government was supplied by nothing in the regulations of the English. Beyond the ancient limits of the Presidency, the Company had no legal power over the natives. Beyond these limits, the English themselves were not amenable to the British laws ; and the Company had no power of coercion, except by sending persons out of the country.... The natural consequence was, that the crimes of the English and their agents were in a great measure secured from punishment, and the unhappy natives lay prostrate at their feet.. .Under the feebleness of Sujah Dowla, and the quarrels which occupied the Mahrattas at home, the Company enjoyed profound tranquillity in Bengal for a considerable number of years ; and during the administrations of Mr. Verlest and Mr. Cartier, who occupied the chair till the elevation of Mr. Hastings, and were calm, unambitious men, few events of historical importance occurred. It was during a period like this, if ever, that the Com-

pany ought to have replenished their exchequer, and to have attained financial prosperity. During this period, on the contrary, financial difficulties were continually increasing, and rose at last to a height which threatened them with immediate destruction."*

The anarchical state in which, by the double government, the provinces were placed, powerfully contributed to their impoverishment; and the abuses introduced into every department of administration, at once swelled the expenses, and lessened the resources of the Government. Clive, however, when called to defend himself from the charges and reproaches which assailed him from all quarters, on the dissipation of the golden hopes he had raised, boldly threw the blame upon his successors and the Directors; imputing all the evils which had arisen, to a relaxation of government and negligent administration on the part of the one, and to notorious misconduct and violent proceedings on the part of the Company at home.† The affairs of the

* Mill, iii. 385–7; 389. In September 1770, notwithstanding a failing revenue and an accumulating debt, the Directors declared a dividend at the rate of 12 *per cent.* On the 14th of March, and the 25th of Sept. 1771, it was resolved to recommend to the General Court, an augmentation of the dividend to six and a quarter *per cent.*, for the six months respectively ensuing; which, as well as a similar resolution in May 1772, was approved by a large majority. These desperate proceedings hurried the affairs of the Company to a crisis. On the 15th of July, 1772, the Directors were reduced to the necessity of applying to the Bank for a loan of 400,000*l.* On the 29th, they applied for an additional loan of 300,000*l.*, of which the Bank could be prevailed upon to advance only two-thirds. And on the 10th of August, they waited upon the Minister, to apprise him, that, unless Government would advance at least one million, the Company's affairs would terminate in a total failure of the means of payment. *Ib.* 433, 4.

† Mill, iii. 437. "With regard to the increase of the expenses," says Clive, "I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the *duannee*, their agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at

Company at length became the subject of Parliamentary investigation, which led to a complete alteration in the system of management. In May 1773, it was proposed by the Minister, and determined by the Legislature, that a qualification of a voter in the General Court should be raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*; that, instead of an annual election of the whole body of the Directors, one-fourth only of the twenty-four should be subject to the ballot; that the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa should be placed under the administration of a governor-general, with an annual salary of 25,000*l.*, assisted by four counsellors with 8000*l. per annum*; that the presidencies of Madras and Bombay should be subordinate to that of Bengal; and that at Calcutta, there should be established a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice with 8000*l.* a year, and three other judges, with 6000*l.* a year, appointed by the Crown. Every thing in the Company's

an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel; the channel of the civil and military charges. *Every man now, who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.*" *Ib.*, p. 390. It is certain, however, that the short-sighted regulations established by Clive, together with the unfounded and extravagant hopes he raised, were the chief causes of the embarrassment of the Company's affairs. Clive, in Mr. Mill's judgement, "though never inattentive to his own interests, was actuated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of the Company; and it would have required an extraordinary man to have acted with greater disinterestedness." (p. 454.) "With great audacity, both military and political, fortunately adapted to the scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigencies, he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, including any moderate anticipation of the future." (p. 437.) His admired scheme of a double administration, is justly stigmatised as the invention of a mind to which "a certain degree of crooked artifice seems to have presented itself in the light of profound and skilful politics." (p. 386.) Colonel Wilks cannot believe that so weak and shallow a policy would be "the spontaneous growth of the great mind of the great Clive." (Wilks, ii. 57.) Whether it was his invention or his adoption, he claimed the merit of it.

correspondence from India, relating to either civil or military affairs, was to be laid before the ministry of the Crown, to which, in effect, the supreme control of the Indian government was, by these regulations, transferred. Notwithstanding the vehement and indignant complaints and the strenuous opposition which these measures excited, they were carried by great and decisive majorities.* By the new parliamentary authority, Mr. Hastings was appointed governor-general; and the members of council nominated were, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis; not removable, during the period assigned in the act, except by the Crown.

Mr. Hastings had already, in the April of 1772, succeeded Mr. Cartier in the presidency, on the appointment of the Directors; and, under his administration, important changes had taken place. With a view to remedy some of the disorders connected with the collection of the duan, the Directors had declared their resolution to break through the system of ambiguity established by Clive, and to take the collection as well as the disbursement of the revenues into their own hands. By this change, of the nature and consequences of which the Directors appear to have had no adequate conception, the whole property of the country, and along with it the administration of justice, were placed upon a new foundation; and a revolution was produced, more deeply affecting the condition of

* These regulations are ably but severely analysed by Mr. Mill, who labours to shew, that the plan had not the smallest tendency to remedy the principal evils which it was sought to remedy, while it was fraught with mischiefs which did not previously exist. The new jurisprudential system is shewn to have been more especially objectionable. See Mill, iii. 443—52; 467—71.

the people of India, than any mere change of masters. The office of *Naib Duan*, which had been held by Mahomed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad, and by Rajah Shitabroy at Patna, were abolished;* and in its place, a board of revenue was instituted at Calcutta. The guardianship of the young Nabob, which had been hitherto entrusted to the *Naib Nizam*, or supreme magistrate, was now confided to a female chamberlain, Munny Begum, the second wife of Meer Jaffier.

While this great revolution was being silently effected in the government, the situation of the neighbouring powers was preparing another field of action for the ambition and enterprise of the Company's servants. Nujeeb ud Dowla, the Rohilla chieftain who had been made *Ameer ul Omrah* by Allumghire II., and to whom the Dooraunee Shah had delegated the chief power at Delhi, succeeded in preserving, by his wise and vigorous administration, order and tranquillity in the northern provinces. His death, in 1770, determined Shah Allum to attempt the hazardous project of recovering possession of the capital of his ancestors by means of a Mahratta alliance. With or without the concert of the Emperor, three powerful chiefs, Tookajee, Sindia, and Besajee, had taken a position northward of the river Chumbul, and hovered over the adjoining provinces with 30,000 horse. In the beginning of 1771, Shah Allum despatched an envoy to Calcutta, to bespeak, if not the assistance, at least the

* Both Mahomed Reza and Shitabroy were arrested on the groundless suspicion of having abused their trust, and were sent prisoners to Calcutta. After two years confinement, it was judicially declared, that no guilt had been proved to attach to them. Shitabroy died of a broken heart, a short time after his return to Patna. As some compensation for this ill-usage, Mr. Hastings afterwards appointed his son *roy-royan*, or chief native agent of finance in the province of Bahar.

approbation of the English in his projected enterprise, and he was not restrained by their dissuasions. By the exertions of the Mogul nobles and the sinister assistance of the Vizir, he was enabled, in May, to march from Allahabad at the head of 16,000 men. At Nabbee Gunge, about thirty miles beyond Furrukabad on the road to Delhi, where he was constrained to canton his army during the rains, he was met by a Mahratta *vakeel*, or ambassador, who presented the demands of his imperious masters. With these, Shah Allum had no alternative but to comply; and when the rains were over, he was joined by the Mahratta chiefs and the nobles of Delhi. On the 25th of December, he made his entry into the capital, with all the display which his circumstances would allow.

The Mahrattas afforded the Emperor but a few days to enjoy the pomp and pleasures of his capital, when they hurried him into the field. The Rohilla country, which, under the vigorous administration of Nujeeb ud Dowla, had been rendered one of the most flourishing districts in India, now promised to afford a field of plunder. Seharunpore, the *jagheer* of the late *Ameer ul Omrah*, was the first object of attack; and the consent of the Emperor is said to have been yielded to the expedition, on the ground of the danger to be apprehended from the resentment of Zabita Khan, the son and successor of Nujeeb ud Dowla, at being dispossessed of the government of Delhi. Although that chief made a spirited defence, he was unable to withstand the united power of the Mogul and Mahratta forces, and he escaped, with only a few attendants, to the camp of the Vizir. The Rohillas were now placed in the most critical situation. They had every reason to regard with suspicion and dread, the Nabob of Oude, to whom their territory had long been an object of

desire; but, pressed upon by the superior power of the Mahrattas from the south, they were induced to propose an alliance with their less dangerous enemy. Little exertion was made, however, by the Vizir to expel the Mahrattas, who, after ravaging the country, crossed the Ganges of their own accord at the commencement of the rains. Having extorted from the Emperor a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, in which he had been established by the English, they again returned to the banks of the Ganges; and the Vizir, alarmed, now invoked the assistance of the Bengal Government. But, though the combined forces of the Vizir and the English passed into the Rohilla territory, and encamped near the river, opposite the main army of the Mahrattas, a large body of those marauders crossed the Ganges, over-ran a great part of Rohilcund, destroyed the cities of Moradabad and Sumbul, and continued to ravage the country till the end of March. The English general was restrained by peremptory orders from acting on the offensive; and in May, the Mahrattas retired.

The sequel is alike melancholy and disgraceful to the English name. The Vizir requested the assistance of his allies in seizing upon the Rohilla country; and Hastings, far from revolting at the proposal, encouraged the project, as affording a fair occasion for extracting money from the Vizir, to meet the public exigencies. He *sold* the Rohillas to their enemy; his council sanctioned the infamous bargain; and Colonel Champion with his brigade marched to execute it. The struggle was nobly and skilfully maintained by the high-spirited chief and his intrepid people; but European discipline prevailed, and Hafez Rhamet Khan, their leader, fell in the battle of his country. The Vizir had taken no part in the engagement, but his troops after-

wards spread themselves in every direction, and reduced to a desolate and miserable waste, the once flourishing and richly cultivated Rohilcund.* Allahabad and Corah, which the Emperor's governor had placed under the protection of the English, were also made over to the Vizir for the sum of fifty laks of rupees. Nor was this the whole of the measure of injustice dealed out to the unhappy sovereign. His having flung himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, was seized as an opportunity and pretext for depriving him at the same time of the imperial tribute or pension of twenty-six laks of rupees, which the Company had agreed to pay him from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. The discredit of this transaction belongs chiefly to the Directors, who suggested it; and although they condemned the use made of their troops in subduing the Rohilla country, they gave their unqualified sanction and approbation to the treaty of Benares, by which the bargain was adjusted. Strongly as we may reprobate, however, the want of generosity shewn in the treatment of Shah Allum, his claim to commiseration is materially lessened by the fact, that he had given his formal sanction, in a treaty with the Vizir, to the reduction of the Rohillas, on condition of receiving a share of the plunder and half of the conquered country. Before the Delhi troops reached the scene of action, the struggle had been terminated by the vigorous pro-

* Mill, iii. 506—510. "The inhumanity and dishonour," says Colonel Champion, "with which the late proprietors of this country and their families have been used, is known over all these parts. I could not help compassionating such unparalleled misery; and my requests to the Vizir to shew lenity, were frequent, but as fruitless as even those advices which I almost hourly gave him, regarding the destruction of the villages····He did not cease to overspread the country with flames till three days after the fate of Hafez Rhamet was decided. Above a *lack* of people have deserted their abodes in consequence of the defeat of Hafez."—Mill, iii. 509.

ceedings of the English, and the Vizir made no scruple of evading the performance of his engagements.

All these transactions had occurred previously to the arrival of the new council appointed by Parliament, the members of which did not reach Calcutta till October 1774. The first business which engaged its attention, was the Rohilla war, which Clavering, Monson, and Francis united in condemning; and the refusal of Hastings to produce the correspondence with the commander of the troops and the political agent at the court of the Vizir, gave rise to the most injurious suspicions. His subsequent administration, owing to the violent contentions which ensued, was stormy and beset with both difficulty and danger. Additional force was given to the imputations against his personal character, by his continual anxiety to crush or to evade inquiry. The death of Colonel Monson, in 1776, destroyed the numerical ascendancy of his opponents in the council, giving the decision to the Governor by means of his own casting vote; and this event induced him to retract the tender of his resignation, which had been already transmitted to Europe, and accepted. In 1780, the disputes between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis terminated in a duel, in which the latter was wounded, and he soon afterwards returned to England. The Governor-general was now left to prosecute his plans without control; and in 1781, while war was raging in the Carnatic, he took the extraordinary resolution to leave the seat of government, for the purpose of personally enforcing fresh exactions upon the Rajah of Benares, and the Nabob of Oude.

The city and district of Benares had hitherto, under its native Rajahs, enjoyed the honours of a distinct principality, tributary to the viceroy of Oude, but otherwise independent of his authority; and on the breaking out

of the war between the Bengal Government and Sujah Dowla, in 1764, Bulwunt Sing, the reigning Rajah, had placed himself under the protection of the English. At his death, in 1770, their influence was exerted to secure the succession to his son, Cheyte Sing; and by the new arrangements made with Asof ul Dowla, the son and successor of Sujah Dowla, in 1774, the sovereignty of Benares was transferred from the Nabob of Oude to the Company. The Rajah had faithfully kept his engagements, and had continued to pay his tribute with an exactness rarely exemplified in the history of the tributary princes of Hindostan; but, unhappily, he was supposed to have accumulated considerable treasure, which Hastings, pressed with financial difficulties, had marked for appropriation. It appears, too, that he had incurred the Governor's resentment; and pique or revenge seems to have mingled with the prudential motives which stimulated Hastings to accomplish his ruin. He first harassed the Rajah with vexatious requisitions, answered his expostulations with menace, and treated remonstrance as guilt.* At length, on his sole responsibility, having removed the British resident at Benares, who had been placed there by the express command of the Directors, he proceeded thither in person, and placed the Rajah under arrest. This outrage upon their prince, who was much beloved, provoked the timid natives to rise upon the troops, and effect his rescue. Hastings, who had not provided against any such result, found himself placed in imminent personal danger, and he escaped to the

* "I was resolved," says Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses." "If," remarks Mr. Mill, in his severe exposure of this infamous transaction, "a zeal for the government he served, could sanctify his actions, then may Jefferies be regarded as a virtuous judge."

strong fortress of Chunar. Cheyte Sing made repeated overtures for an amicable negotiation, protesting his innocence, and tendering his submission; but Hastings treated all his applications with contempt, and the Rajah, collecting all his forces, appealed by a manifesto to the princes of Hindostan. Hastings evidently wished to push him to actual hostilities; and though the Rajah abstained from all operations not purely defensive, he was attacked, defeated, and stripped of all his possessions; his family being treated with shameful indignities. After all, the Governor-general was disappointed of the pecuniary aid on which he had calculated; for, while the unfortunate prince was entirely ruined, whatever treasure was derived from the plunder of his palace and strong holds, was claimed as prize-money by the army, who refused to give it up. A youth of nineteen, a grandson of Bulwunt Sing by a daughter, was made Rajah of Benares, but none of the functions of royalty were left to him.

Disappointed in this quarter, and under the most pressing difficulties from want of money, the fertile genius of Hastings directed him to another resource. The Nabob of Oude had been absolutely drained by repeated exactions, and had himself nothing more to give; but both the mother and the widow of the late Vizir (the latter also the mother of the present Nabob) were reputed to be immensely rich. Considerable *jagheers* had been held by them ever since the death of Sujah Dowla, who had also bequeathed to them the greater part of whatever personal wealth he possessed. Large sums had been already extorted by the Nabob from his mother and grandmother, but more remained, which his Highness, on condition of being relieved from certain payments, undertook to seize and transfer to the Governor-general. The rumour of seditious move-

ments on the part of the Begums, as these aged Princesses were styled, was alleged by Hastings as an apology for this proceeding. The Nabob, though he afterwards discovered or feigned a reluctance to execute the agreement, proceeded with the Resident and a body of English troops, to Fyzabad, the abode of the Begums, and took possession of the palace. In order to obtain the treasure without violating the female apartments, two aged eunuchs, the confidential agents of the Begums, were imprisoned and tortured, till their mistresses had consented to surrender the last rupee in their possession. This detestable transaction produced the sum of upwards of 500,000*l.**

The Governor's next step was, to extort fifteen laks of rupees from Fyzoolla Khan, the only Rohilla chief who had escaped the ruin of his nation. Having occupied a strong post on the hills, he concluded a treaty with the Vizir in 1774, under the sanction and guarantee of the British Government, by which he received in *jagheer* the district of Rampore and some other territories in Rohilcund. In return, he was bound to keep up a certain military force; and the sum abovementioned was extorted from him on the condition of being exempted from all future claims of military service.

In February 1784, Mr. Hastings undertook a second journey to Lucknow, for the purpose of a private interview with the Nabob. In proceeding through the province of Benares, he was, according to his own account, "followed and fatigued by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants." From Buxar to the opposite boundary, nothing was visible but traces of devastation in every village, arising chiefly from the oppres-

* The *jagheers* were, some years after, in part restored to the Begums, in consequence of directions from England.

sion to which the people were exposed under the administration set up by the English governor, but which Hastings ascribed only to the misconduct of his deputy, on whom his vengeance fell. He arrived at Lucknow in the end of March, and remained there five months. In November, he resumed his seat at the council-board at Calcutta, and in February 1785, resigned his office, and embarked for England. The financial result of his administration was, the addition of about twelve millions and a half to the debt of the East India Company, the interest of which far exceeded the amount of the additional revenue; and the total revenue of the Indian Government, at the close of his administration, was unequal to its ordinary expense.*

On the return of Mr. Hastings to England, the violent censures which the opposition party in the House of Commons had long pronounced upon the Government in India, assumed the determinate character of an accusation of the late Governor-general. Mr. Pitt at first protected him with all the weight of his ministerial influence; and the treatment of the Rohillas was voted by a majority of 119 to 67, to involve no criminality on the part of Mr. Hastings. A fortnight after, when the charge respecting the treatment of the Rajah of Benares was brought forward, the minister suddenly changed his tone, and concurred in the vote for his impeachment. On the 13th of February, 1788, commenced the memorable trial of Mr. Hastings, in Westminster Hall, which, being protracted through eight years, afforded time for a singular revolution in the state of public sentiment. The tide of popular indignation, which had run strongly against the illustrious culprit at the com-

* Mill, iv. 441—4.

mencement of the proceedings, was turned successfully against the agents and managers of the prosecution. In the end, Mr. Hastings, finding himself favoured by the aristocracy and the court, assumed the tone of an accuser; and it seemed to be Mr. Burke, the chief manager of the prosecution, rather than the party arraigned, who was upon his trial. The two Houses of Parliament were, at some stages of the proceedings, in danger of coming to a serious misunderstanding. At length, on the 23d of April, 1795, a majority of twenty-three to six of the lords who sat in judgement, pronounced Warren Hastings "not guilty." An annuity of 4000*l.* a year, to commence from June 1785, and a loan of 50,000*l.*, without interest, for eighteen years, were granted to Mr. Hastings by the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the Board of Control, as an indemnification for the legal expenses he had incurred, and a reward of his distinguished services.*

The sentence of his judges may be allowed to settle the question of the political guilt attaching to the impeached party. The question of personal merit or demerit turns very much upon the motives by which Mr. Hastings was actuated in those doubtful transactions which were supposed to imply corrupt intention; and upon the degree of connivance or participation with which he was chargeable in the crimes perpetrated under his authority. History, however, has to do only with the moral character of the transactions themselves, and with that of the administration of which they form so distinguishing a feature. State necessity, the law of self-preservation superseding the law of right, is the apology offered by Mr. Hastings

* An acute analysis of the whole of the proceedings on this memorable trial, is given by Mr. Mill, vol. v. pp. 82—256.

himself, for actions which he was aware reflected odium upon his government.* It may, indeed, be alleged in extenuation of his conduct, that his worst acts of violence or injustice might find a parallel and a precedent in the more wanton and venal criminalities of his predecessors.† In point of ability, he is pronounced by Mr. Mill to have been "beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company have ever employed." "He had no genius, any more than Clive, for schemes of policy including large views of the past and large anticipations of the future; but he was hardly ever excelled in the skill of applying temporary expedients to temporary difficulties. He had not the forward and imposing audacity of Clive; but he had a calm firmness which usually, by its constancy, wore out resistance. He was the first, or among the first of the servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire any language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal inquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindoos, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day. He had that great art of a ruler which consists in attaching to the governor those who are governed; for assuredly, his administration was popular, both with his countrymen and the natives in Bengal." ‡ This fact,

* Mill, iv. 337.

† His treatment of Cheyte Sing was not more nefarious than Clive's perfidious and cruel conduct to Omichund (see Mill, iii. 170), or than the system of extortion and violence which exasperated Meer Causim into hostilities, and harassed Jaffier into his grave.

‡ Mill, iv. 454—5. In this passage, Mr. Mill almost seems to retract, in the attempt to soften down, the unfavourable representation previously given in the same volume, of Mr. Hastings, as a man of the most consummate chicanery and duplicity (pp. 451, 432), whose naked assertion was of no value (p. 333); who was capable of acting with "a complication of fraud and cruelty, admitting of few parallels" (pp. 339, 421-2); chargeable with artful

taken in connexion with the circumstances already detailed, would seem to prove, that, in his hands, the British yoke did not, upon the whole, press more heavily upon the country, than it had done under the administration of his predecessors; that the acts of oppression which stand so prominently forward, being but occasional, and partial in their effects, did not, in the eyes of the natives, give their colour to his rule.* "It is admitted," says Sir John Malcolm, "that, during a time of unexampled public embarrassment, and at a moment when he had to contend against those from whom he should have derived support, Mr. Hastings shewed all the active energy of a great statesman; and, by his spirited and extraordinary exertions, saved the interests of his country from the ruin in which they would undoubtedly have been involved, had a man of less resolution, fortitude, and genius held the reins of government. This is his praise.... But the most strenuous advocates of this distinguished

and self-contradictory falsehood (pp. 24, 371, 415); repeatedly disavowing his own agents (pp. 404, 16); selfish in his motives (p. 338); and in his conduct towards his colleagues and rivals, (in particular Mr. Bristow and Lord Macartney,) mean, arbitrary, and vindictive. "But," remarks Mr. Mill, "he was placed in difficulties, and acted upon by temptations, such as few public men have been called upon to overcome."

* The popularity of Mr. Hastings among the natives, appears to have resulted from his conciliatory manners and policy. "Warren Hastings," says Bishop Heber, "in the height of his power and conquests, gained infinite popularity (at Benares), by riding publicly through the city, as usual with the high functionaries of the court of Delhi, behind the *howdah* of the hereditary prince, with a fan of peacock's feathers in his hand." At Allahabad, "of the sultan-like and splendid character of Warren Hastings, many traits are preserved; and a nursery rhyme, which is often sung to children, seems to show how much they were pleased with the oriental pomp which he knew how to employ on occasions."—Heber's *Travels*, i. 298, 330.

person," adds Sir John, "are forced to acknowledge, that the whole system of the government over which he presided, was corrupt and full of abuses. There can be no doubt that the promoters of these inquiries, however mixed their motives may have been, became entitled to the gratitude of their country." *

It will now be necessary to go back a few years, in order to resume the narrative of operations in the South of India.

Upon the recal of Bussy, Nizam Ali, resuming the command and station which he had formerly occupied, made no delay in effecting the dethronement of his feeble-minded brother, whom, in July 1761, he committed to prison, and invested himself with the insignia of government. The treaty of Paris (Feb. 1763), by which Salabut Jung was recognised as the legitimate Soubahdar of the Deccan, after he had been nearly two years dethroned, was the signal for his being put to death by the usurper. With him, nevertheless, the

* Malcolm's Pol. Hist. i. 34, 5. Even at this distance of time, the intensity of party feeling is discoverable in the opposite language, in which the character of Mr. Hastings is panegyrised or stigmatised. "The *saviour of India*," thus Colonel Wilks speaks of him, "a title conferred on this great man by the general voice of Europe, became the convenient sacrifice to political manœuvre. A trial of seven years' duration terminated in his honourable acquittal, at the bar of his country, of every accusation with which his character had been blackened. To the charge of oppression, a universal people made answer with their astonishment, their blessings, and their prayers. To the crime of receiving corrupt presents and clandestine extortions, equal to the price of a kingdom, he answered with poverty; and to the accusation of violating his duty to the East India Company and his country, was opposed the simple fact of preserving unimpaired the territories committed to his charge, during a period which elsewhere exhibited nothing but national humiliation."—Wilks, ii. 285. This is almost an echo of Hastings's daring language on his trial. "*I gave you all*, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment."—Mill, v. 191.

H. Adlard, sc

INTERIOR OF TIPPOO'S PALACE AT BANGALORE.

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Madras Government deemed it wise to negotiate a treaty, by which they submitted to hold as a tributary dependency on this nominal viceroy, the Northern Circars, with the absolute sovereignty of which the English had been formally invested by the imperial firmaun.* Another article of the treaty (1766), stipulated for the Nizam, the assistance of English troops; by which provision, the Presidency became inevitably embroiled with other powers. The first service, in fact, upon which the auxiliary troops were to be employed, was the reduction of the fort of Bangalore, belonging to Hyder Ali. The Nizam, however, after availing himself of their assistance in collecting the tribute from the polygars on his march, listened to the overtures of Hyder, and concluded with that artful intriguer a treaty of alliance, in consequence of which their united forces began, in August 1767, to make incursions into the Carnatic.

Hyder Ali, who was destined to prove the most formidable enemy whom the English had ever encountered in India, had by this time rendered himself entire master of the kingdom of Mysore. This daring adventurer was the son of a Mohammedan *foujdar* in the service of the Nabob of Sera. His great grandfather, Mahomed Beloli, was a native of Punjaub, (probably of Afghaun descent,) who came into the Deccan in the character of a fakeer, and acquired considerable

* Pecuniary difficulties have been urged in excuse for this gratuitous surrender of the advantages obtained by Clive, by which the Company "resumed their grovelling position of tributary dependents for the Circars." Colonel Wilks, however, considers it as a part of the same weak policy which dictated the double government exercised in Bengal, the acceptance of a *duannee* from a conquered emperor, and the imbecile attempt to conceal under fictitious characters, the sovereignty acquired by their own power.—Wilks, ii. 55, 56.

wealth by the exercise of his religious talents. Young Hyder commenced his career as a volunteer in the Mysore army, in the year 1749. At that period, Mysore still remained under a pure Hindoo government; but the powers of the Rajah had been usurped by the two brothers, Deoraj and Nunjeraj, who governed absolutely in his name. Hyder, having by his valour drawn upon himself the attention of Nunjeraj, the general of the forces, gradually rose to the rank of a commander, and was, in 1755, appointed to defend the fort of Dindigul. In 1757, he made an attempt upon Madura, but met with a severe defeat at the mouth of the narrow pass of Natam. In the following year, his services in suppressing a mutiny in the army, and in effecting a reconciliation between the two brothers, as well as with the Rajah, were rewarded with the fort and district of Bangalore, as a personal *jagheer*. An invasion of the Mahrattas, which immediately followed, in the beginning of 1759, contributed more remarkably still to his elevation. Although several of the principal commanders disdained to serve under him, he was appointed general; and the vigour and success with which he conducted the campaign, secured him the obedience of the army. Deoraj being now dead, his patron Nunjeraj alone stood in the way of his obtaining the entire control of the resources of the state. To secure the countenance of the Rajah in the attempt to supersede his "gaoler," was an easy intrigue; and the troops were artfully incited to revolt against the usurping minister, while Hyder, with affected reluctance, suffered himself to be placed at their head. Nunjeraj, who was not remarkable for courage, consented to retire, upon condition of receiving an honourable provision.

The sudden decampment of the Mysorean troops

who had advanced to the support of Lally when besieged in Pondicherry,* was at the time as mysterious as it was critical. At that period, Hyder's fortunes were on the verge of utter ruin. The distant employment of his troops, and his own position, with a small detachment, under command of the guns of the palace, emboldened the queen mother, in concert with a Mahratta chief, to attempt to cut him off. A cannonade was begun, and Hyder soon discovered that his situation was desperate; but, the main attack being deferred till the arrival of the Mahrattas, night came on. Hyder, with the assistance of a few boats, crossed, unperceived, the river by which his position was surrounded, with a small body of horse; and, having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours, (the first seventy-five on the same horse,) arrived at Bangalore just in time to precede the orders of the Rajah, by which the gates would have been shut against him. All his hopes now rested upon the arrival of the corps before Pondicherry, to which he despatched the most urgent orders; but, before they could join him, they were intercepted by the Mahrattas of Visajee Pundit, who had joined the Rajah, and were closely besieged in their camp. The utmost efforts of Hyder were ineffectual to relieve them; and his power was ready to drop from his hands, when the Mahrattas agreed to march off, upon being promised the cession of Baramahal, and receiving the payment of the trifling sum of three laks of rupees.†

* See page 75.

† They had engaged their services first to Lally, but had been bought off by the English. "Like a true Mahratta," says Colonel Wood, "Visajee had first sold himself to Kundee Row, and then to his opponent Hyder; and he had made a show of selling himself to the French, in order that he might sell himself to the Eng-

Hyder was now strong enough to take the field; but was defeated, in February 1761, with severe loss, by Kundee Row, the Rajah's general. Unable to cope with his enemies by force, he resolved upon an extraordinary step, which required a strong confidence in his powers of simulation. "With a select body of 200 horse, (including about 70 French hussars,) he made a circuitous march by night; and early on the next morning, unarmed and alone, presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nunjeraj, at Cunnoor. Being admitted, he threw himself at his feet. With the semblance of real penitence and grief, he attributed all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nunjeraj; entreating him to resume the direction of public affairs, and take his old servant once more under his protection. Nunjeraj was completely deceived; and, with his remaining household troops, he gave to the ruined fortunes of Hyder the advantage of his name and influence."* The difficulty now was, to effect a junction with his main army. All his movements were baffled by the skilful evolutions of Kundee Row, and his situation became highly perilous. The means he took to extricate himself, presents an instance of that talent for stratagem which constituted a leading trait of his character. He forged letters in the name of Nunjeraj, to the principal commanders in the hostile army, purporting to relate to a conspiracy into which they had entered to betray their general, and promising the stipulated reward. The bearer of these letters was

lish and Mohammed Ali at a better price." But secret orders of recal, in consequence of the defeat of the Mahrattas at Paniput, formed an additional, perhaps the strongest motive for their accepting the double bribe by which their retreat was purchased at this critical moment, and for their precipitate return to Poonah.

* Wilks, i. 428.

seized, of course, and his papers were delivered to Kundee Row, who, conceiving that he was betrayed by his army, instantly escaped at full speed, under the influence of panic, to Seringapatam. During the confusion that ensued, the army, assailed at once in front and rear by the two divisions of Hyder's forces, yielded an easy and decisive victory. The triumph of Hyder was now secured. He delayed, however, marching to the capital, till he had augmented his army and secured possession of the lower country. He then ascended the Ghauts; and, early in May 1761, arrived at Chendgâl, opposite the island of Seringapatam, where, while affecting to negotiate, he surprised and routed the remnant of Kundee Row's cavalry. Thence, he despatched a message to the Rajah, to this effect: that large sums were due to Hyder from the state; that, after the payment of these arrears, if the Rajah should be pleased to continue him in his service, it was well; if not, Hyder would depart, and seek his fortunes elsewhere. The meaning of this humble communication, no one misunderstood. It was arranged, that districts to the amount of three laks of rupees should be reserved for the personal expenses of the Rajah, and of one lak for those of Nunjeraj; and that Hyder should assume the management of the remainder of the country, charging himself with the responsibility of defraying the arrears, and of providing for the expenses, civil and military, of the government.* From this time,

* Wilks, i. 433. By another stipulation in the treaty, Kundee Row was given up to Hyder's mercy, with an earnest recommendation that he might be treated with lenity. Hyder is said to have replied, that he would not only spare the life of his old servant, but cherish him like a paroquet; a promise which was afterwards explained by his inviting those who reproached him with his

Hyder was undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore.

"Hyder," remarks Mr. Mill, "was fortunately cast at one of those recurring periods in the history of Oriental nations, when, the springs of the ancient governments being worn out, and political dissolution impending, a proper union of audacity and intrigue has usually elevated some adventurer to the throne. The degraded situation of the Rajah, and the feeble and unskilful administration of the two brothers, opened an avenue to power, of which Hyder was well qualified to avail himself. The debilitated and distracted government of the Soubahdar of Deccan; the dreadful blow which the Mahrattas had just received at the battle of Paniput; and the fierce and exhaustive contentions which the rival strangers in Carnatic were waging against one another; left all around a wide expanse, in which, without much resistance, he might expect to reap an opulent harvest."

Not long before this, the power of the Mahrattas had threatened to swallow up the whole Indian continent. Upon the return of the Dooraunee Shah to his own dominions, after the conquest of Delhi,* he left his son governor of Lahore and Moultan. The restless Seiks soon appeared again in rebellion, and they invited the Mahratta generals, Ragonaut Raow, Shumsheer Bahadur, and Holkar Mulhar, who had advanced into the neighbourhood of Delhi, to join them in expelling the Dooraunees from Lahore and Moultan. No occupation could be more agreeable to these marauders; and the Dooraunee prince made

severity, to inspect his *iron cage*, and the rice and milk allotted for the food of his miserable prisoner.—*Ibid.*, 434.

* See vol. i. p. 357.

but a feeble resistance, and fled. Ahmed Shah, roused by the loss of these provinces, and invited by the Hindoos groaning under the depredations of the Mahrattas, again entered India, and, on advancing to Delhi, was joined by the chiefs of Rohilcund. The Mahrattas, who had evacuated Lahore and Moultan at the approach of the Dooraunee army, were there encamped in great strength. Being distressed for provisions, they came out and offered battle, and were defeated with great slaughter. Their army, consisting of 80,000 veteran cavalry, was almost entirely destroyed; Duttah Sindia, their general, being among the slain. Another body, who were marauding under Holkar, in the neighbourhood of Secundra, were surprised and put to the sword, with the exception of their general and a few others, who made their escape. These disgraceful reverses excited the Mahrattas to the greatest exertions. A vast army was collected, which, having been joined by Soorajee Mul, the Jaat Rajah, and Umad ul Mulk, marched upon Delhi, which they took, and plundered with their usual rapacity, and proclaimed Sultan Jewan Bukht, the son of Alee Gohur (Shah Allum), emperor. Burning with impatience of revenge, Ahmed Shah swam the Jumna, before it was deemed passable, with his whole army; and the Mahrattas, intimidated by this daring adventure, entrenched their camp on a plain near Paniput. For some time, the Dooraunees confined themselves to skirmishing and intercepting their convoys, till famine and pestilence began to rage in the Mahratta camp, and a battle became the only resource. Bhaow, their general, was killed early in the action; confusion soon pervaded their army, and a dreadful carnage ensued. Of the Mahrattas who escaped from the field, the greater part were butchered

by the natives who had suffered from their depredations; and of an army of 140,000 horse, only three chiefs of rank, and a mere remnant of troops, found their way to Deccan. This decisive overthrow took place in 1760.

The Mahratta chiefs, though independent and often at variance, still acknowledged a nominal subjection to the central government founded by Sevajee, but which had fallen into the state that the Hindoo governments seem to have had a general tendency to assume. The Mahratta Rajahs were assisted, according to the Hindoo institution, by a council of eight Brahmins, styled *Mutseddies* (ministers), who shared among them the principal offices of the state. The chief of this council, or prime minister, was styled the *Peishwa* (leader). In the reign of Sahoojee, (who was but the third in succession from Sevajee,) this high office was attained by Kishwanath Balajee, who wielded, with little check from the indolent and voluptuous sovereign, the supreme powers of government. He assumed the name of Row Pundit (chief of the Pundits), and had influence enough to bequeath his office and power to his son Bajee Row,* who still further diminished the power of the sovereign, and eventually reduced him to the condition of a state prisoner at Satarah. The Peishwa established his own residence at Poonah, which henceforth became the real seat of government. In 1761, Bajee Row (the second of the name) died, it is said of grief for the death of Bhaow, who was slain in the battle of

* A similar transfer of hereditary power from the sovereign to the minister, Mr. Mill remarks, took place in the case of the Mayor of the Palace in France, in that of the *Chu-vua* in Tong-king, and at some periods in both the Persian and the Ottoman annals.

Paniput. The hereditary succession of the Peishwas was now so firmly established, that the title of his eldest son, Madhoo Row, though a minor, was not disputed; but the burden of government devolved upon his uncle, Ragonaut Row, more commonly known by the name of Ragoba.

The Brahmin council of eight had been reduced to comparative insignificance during the vigorous administration of preceding Peishwas; but a cabal was now formed, in concurrence with Gopicaboy, the mother of Madhoo, a dissolute, intriguing woman, who twice succeeded in stripping Ragonaut Row of his power. Madhoo, on coming of age, acquitted himself with great ability: he died in 1772; and his brother, Narrain Row, who succeeded him, was assassinated about nine months after. Ragonaut Row was then acknowledged Peishwa; but, while engaged in an expedition to the south, to exact a long arrear of *chout* from Hyder and the Nabob of Arcot, a ministerial confederacy, supported by the Nizam, raised an army in favour of an *unborn* claimant to the succession. Ragonaut met and defeated his opponents; but, when within a few miles of Poonah, he was struck with a panic upon receiving intelligence that Holkar and Scindia, two Mahratta chiefs possessing extensive dominions in Malwah, had joined the Brahmin cabal, in support of the pretensions of the infant, of whom, in the interim, the widow of Narrain Row was *said* to have been delivered. Quitting his army in secret, he fled with a small body of men to Gujerat, where Govind Row Guicowar engaged to support him.

The greater part of that large province had been wrested from the Mogul empire, in 1726, by Pillajee Guicowar (or *Gaikevad*, i.e. the herdsman), and its government rendered hereditary in his family. At

the time of Ragonaut's flight, it was distracted by the rival pretensions of the two brothers, Futteh Singh Guicowar and Govind Row. During the ascendancy of the Mutseddies, in the life-time of Madhoo Row Peishwa, Futteh Singh had obtained, by means of bribes, the nomination to the *musnud* of Gujerat, in prejudice of his elder brother. On the accession of Ragonaut Row, he acknowledged the title of Govind Row, whose protection he now claimed, and whom he found besieging his brother in his capital of Broderah.

It so happened, that a similar contention at the same time divided the Mahratta kingdom of Berar, and ranged one of the rivals on the side of Ragonaut; the other, on that of his adversaries. This vast region, together with the Cuttak district of Orissa, formed the first, in point of magnitude, of the independent Mahratta principalities. Jannajee Bhonsla, the late Rajah, dying without issue, had named for his successor, his nephew, Moodajee, then a minor, whose uncles now contended for the regency. Shabajee claimed it as the elder brother; Moodajee, as the parent of the Rajah; and the country was involved, by their conflicting pretensions, in a destructive civil war.

While these intestine revolutions and disorders were dividing and weakening the Mahratta power, Hyder was steadily pursuing his plans of aggrandisement. Having extended his conquests over the two Balipoors, over Gooti, the territory of the Mahratta chieftain, Morari Row, and the nabobship of Sera,*

* Sera, a town 84 miles N. of Seringapatam, then in the possession of the Mahrattas, was for some time the capital of a naib or provincial governor, dependent on the Soubahdar. "A pavilion on a diminutive scale, but exhibiting considerable taste, built by

he received the submission of the polygars of Raidroog, Harponelly, and Chittledroog; and, early in 1763, marched, at the invitation of an impostor, who pretended to be the young Rajah of Bednore, to the conquest of that mountain capital.* The treasure which he acquired by this expedition was, according to his own confession, the grand instrument of his future greatness. He then took possession of the district of Soonda, to the north of Bednore; reduced

the last Nabob, Dilavar Khan, is still standing at Sera, and is the model followed in the erection of those splendid palaces built by Hyder and Tippoo at Bangalore and Seringapatam."—Wilks, i. 437. Hyder agreed to purchase this nabobship of Basalut Jung, the Soubahdar's brother, for three laks of rupees, although he had to gain possession by his sword; and the title of Nabob and the name of Hyder Ali Khan Behauder, by which he was designated in the deed of investiture, were thenceforth assumed by Hyder. His original signet was Futteh Hyder, which he never changed, except on state occasions; but he was always more gratified by the single appellation of Bahauder being applied to him, than with any other.

* "The district of Bednore Proper is situated on the summit of that range of western hills which overlooks the provinces of Canara and Malabar.... The dominions of this state not only embraced the mountainous range, but extended to the west, over the maritime province now named Canara, and to the east, over a tract of more open country, stretching to Santa Bednore and Hoolulkera, within 20 miles of Chittledroog, the residence of its constant rival and enemy."—Wilks, i. 449. At Simoga, a fort on the skirt of the woods, 43 miles from the capital, Hyder is said to have found a lak of pagodas, equal to 864,000*l.* Colonel Wilks supposes the whole amount of the plunder gained in this expedition, to have equalled at least 12,000,000*l.* sterling. Mr. Mill thinks it more likely, that it was not above a third of that sum. The former capital of Bednore was Ikeri, near Sagar, on the Varada. Bednore (Biderнore or Bider-ruru) was originally called Biderhully (bamboo village), but changed its name on becoming the seat of government. Hyder afterwards called it Hyder-nuggur, intending to make it the seat of his government. Seringapatam and its dependencies, he affected to consider as belonging to the pageant Rajah of Mysore. Bednore, he spoke of as his own kingdom; and he now assumed a new splendour and a more royal etiquette.—*Ibid.*, 453—457.

to submission and dependence the Nabob of Savanoor; and rapidly extended his northern frontier across the rivers Werda, Malpurba, and Gutpurba, almost to the banks of the Krishna. These daring encroachments received a severe check from the army of the Peishwa, Madhoo Row, who, in 1764, crossed the Krishna to chastise an enemy whom as yet the Mahrattas despised. After a long and tedious conflict, which greatly reduced and disheartened his army, Hyder was glad to come to an accommodation, on condition of restoring all the dominions wrested from Morari Row, relinquishing all claims upon the territory of Savanoor, and paying 32 laks of rupees.

He employed the greater part of the year 1765 in regulating the affairs of his government and repairing his losses. In the beginning of 1766, he descended into Canara, with the avowed intention of making the conquest of Malabar. After an irregular war of some duration with the Nairs, the whole country submitted; * and a few subsequent struggles only afforded an opportunity for cutting off the most refractory subjects, and establishing a more complete subjection. He had accomplished this important enterprise before the close of that year, when he was recalled to Seringapatam, by the alarming intelligence, that Madhoo Row had again issued from Poonah; that Nizam Ali, with an English corps, was advancing from Hyderabad; that the Madras Presidency had already sent to

* The Nairs are the military class of Malabar. The rajahs are generally of the second Hindoo caste; the nairs are of the fourth, and are distinguished by some peculiar customs. After destroying great numbers, and finding their spirit still invincible, Hyder conceived the plan of transporting the natives of Malabar to Mysore. Of 15,000 who were removed, it is supposed that not 200 survived the effects of the sudden change of climate, superadded to hunger and mental misery.—WILKS, i. 476.

attack some of his districts bordering upon the Carnatic; and that all these powers, including the Nabob, Mohammed Ali, were joined in one grand confederacy for the conquest of Mysore. Nizam Ali and the English were the only enemies whom it was immediately necessary to oppose. The former, his intrigues converted into an ally; and the English corps which had followed the faithless usurper into the dominions of Hyder, sustained, in its retreat, an attack from their united forces. While the English lay encamped between Trinomalee and Calishy Wacum, Hyder planned an expedition from which important consequences might have ensued. He detached into the Carnatic 5000 horse, who marched without opposition to the very precincts of Madras. The place was taken completely by surprise. The President and Council were at their garden-houses without the town; and had not the Mysoreans been more eager to plunder than to improve the advantage given them by their unexpected arrival, the seizure of the English chiefs might have enabled them to dictate their own terms.

Before the rains compelled the English army to retire into cantonments at Wandewash, Colonel Smith attacked the enemy, with some advantage, before Trinomalee. In December, Hyder and his ally received a more decisive defeat between Amboor and Wanumbaddy; and the Nizam, who had grown heartily sick of the war, lost no time in commencing a separate negotiation with the English. In Feb. 1768, a treaty was concluded between the Soubahdar on the one part, and the English and their worthless Nabob on the other, by which the former conditions respecting the Northern Circars were renewed; and the *duannee* of the Balaghaut, a country in the pos-

session of Hyder, was nominally consigned to the English, subject to a payment of seven laks *per annum* to the Nizam, and the *chout* to the Mahrattas.

The Madras Government, elated with their victory, now projected the conquest of the Mysore; but still adhering to the system of duplicity, it was to be undertaken in the name of Mohammed Ali, who was pressed to join the army. The summer passed away, however, in unavailing movements and feeble attempts. In September, Hyder made an overture for peace, which was haughtily rejected by the Presidency. The events which followed, were not very honourable to the British arms. Before the end of the year, Hyder had recovered all the conquered districts; and early in 1769, renewing his ravages in the Carnatic, he penetrated into the district of Trichinopoly, while one of his generals laid waste the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly. No part of the southern Carnatic escaped his ravages, except the dominions of the Rajah of Tanjore, who saved himself by a timely alliance with Hyder. The English army, being unprovided with horse, could neither overtake the march of Hyder, nor interrupt his ravages. At length, having, by a series of artful movements, drawn the English to a considerable distance from Madras, Hyder put himself at the head of 6000 cavalry, and performing a march of 120 miles in three days, suddenly appeared on the mount of San Tomé, in the immediate vicinity of the capital. Thence, he dispatched a message to the governor, requiring that a negotiation for peace should be immediately opened, and that in the mean time the approach of the army should be forbidden. The Presidency, struck with consternation, agreed to the terms thus dictated; and a treaty was concluded in April 1769, embracing as conditions, first, a mutual restitu-

tion of conquests, and secondly, mutual aid and alliance.*

Hyder had not long returned to his own dominions, when he was again called to take the field against the Mahrattas under Madhoo Row, whose military talents appear to have been of a high order. At an early period of this contest, Hyder, conscious of his inability to contend with this powerful enemy, was most importunate in his demands of assistance from the English; but the complicated state of their political relations occasioned its being withheld. The consequence was, that Hyder was stripped of almost all his conquests to the northward, his frontier being driven back within narrower limits than had been possessed by the Hindoo house of Mysore at the commencement of the century. The Mahratta territory was thus brought into immediate contact with the province of Arcot, along the whole extent of the Ghauts, from the great pass of Damalcherry to that of Peddanaik-doorgum. The illness of Madhoo Row, which disposed the Mahratta general, in 1772, to listen to Hyder's overtures for peace, together with the unskilful nature of the Mahratta tactics, alone saved Hyder from total ruin.† Yet, greatly as his finances had suffered, he found means to replenish his coffers by unmercifully mulcting his subjects; and in one short campaign, from Sept. 1773 to Feb. 1774,

* Mill, iii. 415—25. These disasters, together with the disorders which pervaded the government of Bengal, reduced the price of East India Stock 60 *per cent.* For the detailed history of the Mysore war of 1767—9, the reader may be referred to Colonel Wilks's valuable work.—*Hist. Sketches*, ii. ch. 13—17.

† In his retreat to Seringapatam, Hyder was attacked by the Mahrattas near the hills of Chercoolee: and owing in part to the accidental explosion of a tumbril, his troops were seized with panic terror, and routed with great slaughter. Had the Mahrattas followed up their advantage, they might have captured Seringapatam without difficulty.

he not only completely reconquered every place that had been wrested from him by the Mahrattas, but recovered the province of Malabar, which he had wisely abandoned during the pressure of difficulties, in his former war with the English. Ragonaut Row was advancing to meet him, when intelligence of the confederacy formed against him at Poonah, occasioned him to hasten to the northward. A treaty was, however, concluded between him and Hyder, by which the latter agreed to pay to him, and him only, as the lawful head of the Mahratta states, the reduced tribute of six laks of rupees, and to act with his whole force, when required, in support of Ragonaut's pretensions.

Hitherto, Hyder had professed to hold the kingdom of Mysore in behalf of the Hindoo sovereign; and he amused his subjects, on every annual feast of the *Dessera*,* by exhibiting the pageant Rajah seated on his ivory throne in the balcony of state, himself occupying the place of minister and commander-in-chief. In April 1766, the Rajah Chick Kishen Raj Wadeyar died, while Hyder was occupied with the conquest of Malabar; and by his orders, Nunjeraj Wadeyar, the eldest son of the deceased Rajah, then about eighteen years of age, was proclaimed in his stead. Hyder, on his return, went through the farce of paying to him his public obeisance; but he thought proper to deprive him of the revenues assigned to his father, and, on his testifying some impatience, to reduce his household, and abridge his liberty. During the low state of

* The feast of Dessera or *Maha-noumi* (the great ninth), celebrated on the ninth day of the increasing moon, "is the supposed anniversary of a great event in the history of the celebrated Pandoos. The feast is kept with a creditable degree of splendour by the present Raja of Mysore; and athletic contests and various sports are exhibited before him during nine successive days."—Wilks, i. 52.

Hyder's fortunes in 1771, this youth made a vain attempt to open a communication with the Mahratta general; and Hyder made no scruple, on detecting it, to order him to be strangled in the bath. His brother, Cham Raj, was registered as the successor to this perilous distinction. At his death in 1775, the lineal male line became extinct; and Hyder resolved upon an extraordinary method of determining the succession. "He ordered all the children to be collected from the different branches of the reigning House, who, according to ancient precedent, were entitled to furnish a successor to the throne. The hall of audience was strewed round with fruits, sweetmeats, and flowers, play-things of various descriptions, arms, books, male and female ornaments, bags of money, and every varied object of puerile or manly pursuit. The children were introduced together, and were all invited to help themselves to whatever they liked best. The greater number were quickly engaged in a scramble for the fruits, sweetmeats, and toys; but one child was attracted by a brilliant little dagger, which he took up in his right hand, and soon afterwards a lime in his left. 'That is the Rajah,' exclaimed Hyder: 'his first care is military protection; his second is, to realize the produce of his dominions: bring him hither, and let me embrace him.' The assembly was in a universal murmur of applause; and he ordered the child to be conducted to the Hindoo palace, and prepared for installation. He was of the same name as his predecessor, Cham Raj, and was the father of the Rajah who was placed by the English at the head of the Hindoo house of Mysore, on the subversion of the Mohammedan dynasty in 1799."*

* Wilks, ii. 162—4.

In 1776, Mysore was again threatened with an invasion from the confederate armies of Poonah and the Nizam. The former, after some timid manœuvring, retired behind the Krishna, to wait for reinforcements; and the second was bought off by a private bargain with the general. In the following year, the Mahratta army again crossed the Toombuddra; but the treachery of a chief whom Hyder had gained over, defeated the whole project of the campaign, by rendering a retreat expedient. Hyder had now an open field for the realization of the plan concerted with Ragonaut Row, for the occupation of the Mahratta territory between the Toombuddra and the Krishna;* and by the close of the year, he had made the latter river his boundary. Returning to the south, he then resumed the siege of Chittledroog, which surrendered in March 1779, not till after an obstinate defence. To secure himself against future insurrection, Hyder was induced to transport the whole of the remaining population, amounting to about 20,000, to people the island of Séringapatam. From the boys of a proper age, he formed the first regular military establishment of captive converts, in imitation of the Turkish janissaries, which, under the name of *chêla* battalions, arrived at maturity, and were so much augmented, during the government of his successor.†

In the mean while, Ragoba, the deposed and fugitive Peishwa, had applied for assistance to the English

* "This, like the territory inclosed between the branches of the Indus, is sometimes called the *Penjâb*, or country of the five rivers; *viz.* Toombuddra, Werda, Malpurba, Gutpurba, and Kistna (Krishna)."—Wilks, ii. 186.

† Wilks, ii. 190.—"*Chêla*, in Hindostanee, signifies disciple as well as slave." These captives were chiefly Beders.

Presidency at Bombay; and by a treaty concluded on the 6th of March, 1775, he consented to yield up Salsette and Bassein, (of which the English had taken possession, to prevent their again falling into the hands of the Portuguese,) together with the Mahratta share of the revenues of Baroach and other places in the Surat districts, on condition of being supported by an English army. In pursuance of this agreement, a detachment under Colonel Keating took the field; and on the plain of Arras, the allies obtained a dear-bought victory over the Poonah army, which drove them out of Gujerat. Ragoba's affairs now assumed so favourable a complexion,* that Futteh Singh joined the alliance, consenting to confirm to the English all the grants within the Guicowar dominions that had been yielded by Ragoba. This advantageous treaty was, with unaccountable fatuity or perverseness, deprecated and counteracted by the Supreme Council at Calcutta, who regarded with jealousy any attempt to originate important measures independently of their authority. They condemned the President and Council of Bombay for taking part in the quarrels of the Mahrattas; and they hastened to do the very thing they condemned, by sending an agent of their own to treat with the ministers at Poonah. Colonel Upton, who was selected for the service, departed in July 1775, with letters to Siccaram Baboo, as head of the ministerial party; and with much difficulty, he concluded a treaty, on the 1st of March, by which the cause of Ragoba was abandoned, Bassein and the

* The army of the Mutseddies had been previously deserted by Sindia with 12,000 of the best horse; Shabbajee Bhonsla, who favoured their cause in Berar, had been cut off by his brother, who befriended Ragoba; the fidelity of Holkar was doubtful; and the Nizam was temporising.

other cessions were renounced, and the conduct of the Bombay Presidency was thus disowned and condemned.* This treaty (called the treaty of Poorunder), the latter Government justly characterised as highly injurious to the reputation, honour, and interests of the nation; and it is not a little remarkable, that intelligence of the conclusion of this treaty had not reached Calcutta, when letters arrived from the Court of Directors, applauding the *first* treaty, which the Bombay Presidency had concluded with Ragoba, and commanding the Supreme Council to co-operate for its fulfilment. Encouraged by their approbation, the Bombay rulers stood on the watch for a plausible opportunity of evading or infringing the second treaty; and the Poonah rulers shewed no disposition to carry its stipulations into effect. Considerable alarm was occasioned, about this time, by the arrival of a French ship in one of the Mahratta ports, and by the favourable reception given at Poonah to an adventurer who assumed the character of an envoy from the Court of France. Shortly afterwards, news arrived, that war had been declared between the English and the French. In the interim, repeated fluctuations took place in the state of parties at Poonah; and the minority, led by a chief named Moraba, offered to combine with the English in restoring Ragoba. After much vacillation, in Nov. 1778, a fresh treaty was concluded with Ragoba, in pursuance of a resolution of the Supreme Council; a loan to a considerable amount was advanced to him; and an English army of 4500 men began their march towards Poonah. The expedition was ill-planned, and issued accordingly in disaster and disgrace. When

* Mill, iii. 533—550.—Wilks, ii. 172. Mr. Hastings was at this period in the minority of the Supreme Council; but he joined in condemning the Bombay Presidency.

within sixteen miles of Poonah, the troops found an army assembled to oppose them; an event upon which they appear never to have calculated. An immediate retreat was commenced by night; but the Mahratta cavalry came up with them, and part of their baggage and above 300 men were lost before they could reach Wargaum. The English commander declared it impossible to carry back the army to Bombay in the face of the enemy; and, as the only alternative, a convention was submitted to, by which every thing that the Mahrattas demanded, was given up; Ragoba was placed in the hands of Sindia; and two Englishmen of distinction were left as hostages for the due fulfilment of these humiliating terms. The indignation and resentment of the Court of Directors at this disgraceful termination of the enterprise, were expressed by dismissing from their service the two military officers who shared in the conduct of the expedition, and in degrading from his office, the member of the Bombay Council who had accompanied it.

A detachment from Bengal under Colonel Goddard, originally designed to co-operate with the Bombay army, had advanced as far as Booranpoor, when intelligence reached the commander, of the disasters which had occurred. It was in consequence resolved to proceed to Surat, where, owing to the admirable discipline observed on the retreat, the army arrived in safety towards the end of January 1779, having marched nearly 300 miles in nineteen days. Colonel (now General) Goddard, being invested with full powers by the Supreme Council, now attempted to open a negotiation with the Poonah Government on the basis of the treaty of Poorunder; and the discordance which prevailed among the Mahratta chiefs, disposed them to affect to listen to the overture. The negotiation

lingered to the end of October. While it was pending, Ragoba made his escape from the captivity in which he had been held by Sindia, and took refuge at Surat. The reception given to him, suddenly induced the ministerial party at Surat to propose to Hyder an alliance, instead of prosecuting military operations against him, as had been previously determined. With the English, the surrender of Ragoba and the restoration of Salsette were insisted upon as indispensable conditions of any agreement; and General Goddard, breaking off the negotiation, repaired to Bombay, to lay the plan of hostilities. On the other hand, it was arranged at Seringapatam between Hyder and the Poonah envoy, that the former, on condition of having all the grants made by Ragoba confirmed to him, should put forth his whole force in conjunction with the confederates, to expel the English from India. Nizam Ali was to invade the Northern Circars; the Mahrattas of Berar, Malwah, and the northern provinces, were to attack their territories in Bengal and Bahar; those of Poonah and the Deccan were to operate on the side of Bombay; while Hyder, accompanied by 2000 chosen Mahrattas, should direct his whole force towards Madras.

On the 2d of Jan. 1780, General Goddard crossed the Taptee; and on the 19th, took possession, in the name of the Company, of the fortified town and district of Dhuboy, which was evacuated at his approach. Futteh Singh Guicowar was now, with some reluctance, brought to accede to a treaty, by which the Gujerat country was to be divided between him and the Company; the latter obtaining that proportion which had formerly belonged to the Mahrattas. Being joined by the cavalry of this chief, the English

General marched to Ahmedabad, the capital, which he carried by storm in five days, with inconsiderable loss. The united armies of Sindia and Holkar, amounting to 40,000 men, were in the mean time advancing on Surat. By rapid marches, Goddard arrived in the neighbourhood of their encampment near Broderah, on the 8th of March. Sindia appeared desirous to enter into amicable arrangements; and he gave a plausible indication of his sincerity, by sending back the English hostages with the *Vakeel* empowered to treat. His chief object, however, was to get Ragoba and his son into his hands, as an instrument for aggrandizing himself in the Mahratta state; a proposition to which the English general would by no means accede. He was at the same time offering terms to Govind Row, the brother and opponent of Futteh Singh, and had actually received him into his camp. It was therefore determined to bring him to action; and on the 3d of April, he was surprised by General Goddard in his camp, and routed. The Mahrattas, dispersing, left the English masters not only of the field, but of the country. A detachment from Bombay took possession also of Parsek, Bellapore, Panwell, and Callian, and extended the territory of the Presidency along the coast and towards the passes in the road to Poonah. The rainy season having now commenced, Sindia and Holkar withdrew into their own countries, and the English army went into cantonments.

While these affairs were taking place, a series of brilliant exploits in another quarter, contributed to redeem the credit of the British arms. The Rajah (or Ranna) of Gohud, a hilly district of the province of Agra, lying between the territories of Sindia and the Nabob of Oude, had invoked the assistance of the

Bengal Government against the Mahrattas; and in Feb. 1780, a detachment of the Company's army, under the command of Captain Popham, originally intended to join the forces of Goddard, was despatched to this quarter. With a small force and little assistance from the Ranna, Captain Popham, expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud, and crossing the Sind into their own territory, laid siege to the fortress of Lahaur, the chief town in the district of Cutch Wagar. On the 21st of April, having effected an imperfect breach, he took the fort by assault. After completing with great activity the reduction of the district, he turned his attention, in the true spirit of military ardour, to the celebrated fortress of Gwalior, situated within the territory of the Ranna of Gohud, but which had been wrested from his father by the Mahrattas. Built on the summit of a stupendous rock, scarped almost entirely round, it had always been regarded by the native princes as impregnable, and was now garrisoned by 1000 men.* Captain Popham moved to the village of Ripore, about five *coss* distant from Gwalior, and employed his spies in searching if a spot fit for escalading could be found. "After many and dangerous experiments, they at last brought him advice, that one part only afforded any appearance of practicability. At this place, the height of the scarp was about sixteen feet; from the scarp to the wall was a steep ascent of about forty yards; and the wall itself was thirty feet high. At break of day, on the 3d of August, the van of the storming party arrived at the foot of the rock. Wooden ladders were

* General Sir Eyre Coote himself, in a letter to the Supreme Council, had pronounced it "totally repugnant to his military ideas, and even absolute madness," to attack it with so feeble a detachment, and without a covering army.

applied to the scarp, and the troops ascended to the foot of the wall. The spies climbed up, and fixed the rope ladders, when the sepoys mounted with amazing activity. The guards assembled within, but were quickly repulsed by the fire of the assailants. The detachment entered with rapidity, and pushed on to the main body of the place. In the mean time, the greater part of the garrison escaped by another quarter, and left the English masters of one of the greatest and most celebrated strong-holds in that quarter of the globe. This brilliant achievement (for which Captain Popham was rewarded with the rank of Major) struck the Mahrattas with so much consternation, that they abandoned the circumjacent country, and conveyed the alarm to Sindia in his capital." *

In the Carnatic, the usual course of intrigues and oppressions, cabals and contentions, had been going on. As if the triple system of government, carried on by the Madras Presidency, their Nabob, and the Supreme Council of Calcutta, subject to the control of the Directors at home, was not sufficiently complicated, a Minister Plenipotentiary, sent out by the British Government, arrived at Madras in July 1770, and at once surprised and alarmed the Company's servants by the announcement of his extraordinary, indefinite, and independent powers. By this ill-advised measure, Mohammed Ali, whose despicable and faithless character rendered even his alliance a disgrace, was suddenly elevated from a dependent and pensioner upon the Company, to the rank of an ally of the King of Great Britain.† "Corresponding to the jealousy and

* Mill, iv. 52. Gwalior baffled all the attempts of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni.—See vol. i. p. 172.

† "The band of Englishmen and others who surrounded the

dislike with which Sir John Lindsay (the royal envoy) was received by the President and Council, were the cordiality and pleasure with which he was received by the Nabob, and those who surrounded him. To the Nabob he explained, that he was come to recognize him as a fellow sovereign with the King of Great Britain, and to afford him the protection of that great King against all his enemies. The Nabob, who had a keen oriental eye for the detection of personal feelings, was not long a stranger to the sentiments with which his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and the Company's President and Council regarded each other. He described the President and Council as his greatest enemies; for they withdrew the greater part of his revenues and power. Sir John, who was already prejudiced, and ignorant of the scene in which he was appointed to act, fell at once into all the views of the Nabob and the crowd by whom he was beset.....The King's commissioner, measuring his own consequence by that of the master whom he served, and treating the Company and their servants as not worthy of much regard, on the score either of wisdom or of virtue, widened the difference between the partnership sovereigns of the Carnatic. The contempt which the Nabob saw bestowed upon the authority to which he had been accustomed to bend, and the dignity to which he appeared to be exalted as an ally of the British

Nabob, for the purpose of preying upon him, wished of course to see all power in his hands, that they might prey the more abundantly. They filled every place with their outcries against every restraint which was placed upon him; and in particular had endeavoured, and with great success, to disseminate an opinion in England, that he was an oppressed and ill-treated prince, while the servants of the Company were his plunderers and tyrants."—Mill, iv. 62.

King, augmented his opinion of the injustice under which he appeared to himself to groan." *

Mohammed Ali was bent upon a Mahratta alliance for the purpose of overwhelming Hyder, to whom he had a personal antipathy. Sir John completely adopted his views; nor was there any reproach, exhortation, or threat which he spared, to entice or drive the Presidency into that measure. The English Ministry, alarmed at length at the accounts which reached them of the contentions between their envoy and the Company's servants, recalled Sir John Lindsay, but sent out Sir Robert Harland, with similar powers, in his stead; and the only difference between them was, that he was rather more intemperate than his predecessor. The state of things assumed the extraordinary posture of a league between the creature of the British Ministry and a Mohammedan Nabob, supported by a secret monied interest, to destroy the power of the East India Company in the Carnatic. The Presidency would have deemed it advisable to support Hyder, in adherence to their treaty, as a barrier against the Mahrattas, who had, in 1771, so nearly conquered Mysore; but, as the opposition of the Nabob, supported as he was by the Minister of the King, placed this, for want of resources, out of their power, they resolved to remain neutral. The Court of Directors remained strangely

* Mill, iv. 65, 6. Col. Wilks represents the sending out of this envoy as the result of a most disgraceful intrigue on the part of Mohammed Ali's "European adviser;" at whose suggestion the Nabob was induced to send an agent to England in 1767, for the purpose of establishing a separate interest in the administration and legislature of this country. Mr. Burke, "who was not himself a mere spectator in the Indian transactions of that period," in his celebrated speech on the Carnatic debts, asserted, that the Nabob's gold returned eight members in one parliament.—Wilks ii., 212.

passive, and left their servants totally without instructions in this embarrassing predicament.

The Nabob had long earnestly importuned the Madras Government to engage in the reduction of Tanjore, for the purpose of adding it to his own dominions. In 1773, their honourable reluctance to lend themselves to his ambitious views, suddenly gave way, and, without even a colourable pretext, the Rajah was subdued and deposed;* but, on the assumption of the Government of Madras by Lord Pigot, in 1776, he was restored to his throne. This event gave, of course, the greatest umbrage to the Nabob and his secret advisers;† (the Indian plenipotentiary had been in the mean while recalled, in consequence of the changes introduced by the act of 1773;) and it was followed by a train of disgusting cabals, which terminated in the arrest of Lord Pigot, by a majority of his council, and in the recal, prosecution, and conviction of the four principal offenders. When brought up for judgement, a fine of 1000*l.* was imposed upon each; to men of their fortunes, a punishment hardly to be felt. Lord Pigot was restored to his office, but with directions to resign. Before the orders reached India, his constitution, enfeebled by age, had sunk under the effects of

* The assigned ground was, the danger, under the new system, of having such a power in the heart of the province. The secret reason is said to have been applying to that the Rajah had been guilty of borrowing money of the Dutch, instead of, the "great folks" at Madras.—Mill, iv. 97, *note*.

† "Admiral Pigot declared, in the House of Commons, that his brother had been offered ten lacs of pagodas, and afterwards fifteen, (a bribe amounting to about 600,000*l.* of English money,) only to defer, and that for a short and specified time, the re-instatement of the Rajah." The notorious Paul Benfield, the Nabob's broker, was a principal party in these nefarious transactions.

the climate and the feelings which preyed upon his mind, after a confinement of somewhat more than eight months. His successor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, who arrived in 1778, subjected himself to the most degrading imputations, and in 1781, was dismissed from his office.

Hyder had, during all this time, been pressing for an English alliance; and though deeply exasperated against the Madras Government for their continued evasion of the treaty of 1769, he was induced by the state of affairs to renew his proposals, in 1778, to co-operate in the re-instatement of Ragonaut Row. The Supreme Council of Calcutta, to whom reference was now become necessary, approved in general of an alliance with Hyder; but the misunderstanding with the Bombay Government, led them to throw difficulties in the way, till the time had gone by, and Hyder resolved to do without the English. In this determination, he was confirmed by the connexion which he had now formed with their European rivals, who were making preparations in all directions, to attempt the recovery of their ascendancy in India.

"The ill-fated councils which had estranged the English from Hyder Ali, had forced that chief into an intimate correspondence with M. Bellecombe, the Governor of Pondicherry; military stores of every description required, were furnished to him, through the medium of the French fortress of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar; and the plans were concerted of future co-operation at a more convenient season. At Guntoor, on the Coromandel coast, French troops were introduced into the service of Bassâlut Jung; and Monsieur Lubin had now a real mission from the Court of France, and was negotiating at Poonah a treaty with the minister, by which the port of Choul was to be

ceded to France, for the purpose of introducing a body of French troops to unite with that party in their hostile designs against the English power." *

When intelligence reached India, in 1778, that hostilities had commenced between England and France, it was resolved by the Supreme Council to take possession of the whole of the French settlements. Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatam and Carical, surrendered without resistance; and Pondicherry, the fortifications of which had been diligently reconstructed, capitulated after a short siege, and was again dismantled. There only remained to the French, the small fort and settlement of Mahé, situated in the territory of a petty prince, who ranked among the tributaries of Hyder. A desire to save appearances had led Hyder to congratulate the English on the reduction of Pondicherry; but, anticipating the design of attacking Mahé, he gave early intimation of the resentment with which he should regard any such attempt. The Presidency resolved, however, to brave all risks and difficulties. Mahé, though strongly situated, was destitute of supplies; and it surrendered in March 1779, before a cannon was fired. It was occupied by the English till November, when, the detachment being ordered to Surat, the fort was blown up. Hyder was too busily engaged at the time to take measures to defeat the expedition; but he never forgave it; and he now readily entertained the proposals of the Poonah Government, to unite in a confederacy against the English.† Mohammed Ali, whose intel-

* Wilks, ii., 227.

† Hyder's troops are said to have assisted in the defence of the place, and his colours were hoisted with those of the French, when it fell. In a letter written the following month, Hyder pretty distinctly intimated to the Madras Government his intention to retaliate; which drew forth an awkward reply from Sir Thomas

ligence respecting the designs of the Indian powers was in general pretty accurate, gave early information of the impending storm; but his predictions were discredited; and, such had been the supineness and improvidence of the Madras Government, though forewarned in every possible way, that "black columns of smoke were everywhere in view from St. Thomas's Mount, (distant only nine miles from Madras,) before an order was issued for the movement of a single soldier." *

The army with which Hyder had arrived, was not less than 100,000 strong. Of his infantry, 20,000 were formed into regular battalions, mostly commanded by Europeans. His cavalry amounted to 30,000: 10,000 of these were Carnatic cavalry, well disciplined, of whom one-half had belonged to the Nabob, and, after having been trained by English officers, had either deserted, or been disbanded for

Rumbold, expressing surprise at Hyder's partiality to the French! With a view to conciliate the chief who had thus been trifled with and defied, or at least to ascertain the extent of his designs, the Governor, without the knowledge of his council, requested the venerated Missionary, Swartz, to undertake a secret mission to the court of Hyder; which he accepted in the vain hope of "preserving the blessing of peace." Hyder received him with respect, but accused the English of violating all their engagements and promises; and the mission was, as might have been expected, fruitless. "The Nabob at Madras, *and others*," Swartz remarks, "found means to frustrate all hopes of peace."—See extracts from Swartz's Letter, Wilks, ii., App. 2. In the following year (1780), a Mr. Gray was sent to Seringapatam, to demand the release of some English subjects, and to make another vain and ill-judged attempt at coming to a better understanding with Hyder. He was contemptuously treated; and the only result was, to betray the imbecility of the Madras Government to the enemy.

* Wilks, ii., 259. "I have tried them already," said Hyder, "and I know them well; they have no conduct; and even now, when I have assembled my whole force to enter the country, they have not shewn the least glimmering of ability."—*Ib.* p. 253.

want of ability to pay them. He had 100 pieces of cannon, managed either by Europeans or by natives trained by the English; a rocket corps of 2000 men; and a corps of 5000 pioneers, well instructed and equipped; together with a commissariat admirably organized, under the direction of a Brahmin, named Poorneah. Prayers for the success of this expedition had been directed to be offered up in the mosques; and the *jebbum*, a Hindoo form of incantation, to be performed in the pagodas. His progress to the frontier was slow and circumspect, and all his movements were planned and executed with the nicest precision. Around Madras and its maritime communications, he drew a line of merciless desolation, marked by the continuous blaze of flaming towns and villages; extending inland from thirty to fifty-five miles, and from the head of Lake Paliacate northward, to within a few miles of Pondicherry. Round Vellore, he drew a similar circle, not exceeding a radius of thirteen miles. The rest of the country was spared with a view to its permanent occupation. Notwithstanding the devastation that he spread, Hyder was less detested as a destroyer by the inhabitants in general, than hailed as a deliverer; so oppressive and odious had been the partnership sovereignty of the Nabob and the Company. Almost every fort opened its gates at his approach; and the whole country north of the Coleroon, submitted at once to the conqueror. In consequence of this general disaffection, every movement of the British was promptly communicated to Hyder, whereas they found themselves unable to gain any accurate intelligence.

While pressed by dangers thus extraordinary, the Presidency found their own treasury empty, and Mohammed Ali had, as usual, no money for public purposes. Add to which, his mis-government had

been so complete, that not the slightest reliance could be placed on the fidelity of any of his native officers; it became indispensable, therefore, to adopt the measure, strangely neglected till too late, of superseding them by English commandants. In the execution of this service, instances of uncommon gallantry occurred. Lieutenant Flint, who was detached by Colonel Brathwaite, then at Carangooly, to take the command of Wandewash, accomplished in safety a fatiguing march of thirty miles, by deviating to unfrequented paths; and by a bold stratagem, he obtained possession of the place, the gates of which he found shut against him, the Nabob's *kelledar* being upon the point of surrendering it to Hyder. Lieut. Flint found the works in a ruinous state, the cannon dismounted, and little powder. He repaired the works, constructed carriages, and manufactured powder. He had not a single artillery-man; but he prevailed on the silversmiths, who, according to the routine of Hindoo warfare, are the apology for cannoneers, not only to submit to his instructions, but, in the subsequent siege, to perform their duties in a respectable manner. "From the 12th of August, 1780, until the 12th of February 1783, during which the flower of Hyder's army were before the place, including seventy-eight days of open trenches, this officer, never once casting off his clothes at the uncertain periods of repose, not only provided the means of internal defence, but raised a little corps of cavalry for exterior enterprise; and during a protracted period of famine and diversified misery elsewhere, not only fed his own garrison, but procured important supplies for the use of the main army, for which he was justly deemed the centre of all correct intelligence." *

* Wilks, ii., 262—265. Lieut. Flint afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel, and returned to England; but his services procured him no reward of public distinction.

Hyder had descended through the pass of Changama, on the 20th of July, whence he detached bodies of cavalry to lay waste the tracts already mentioned. The advance of the main army was retarded by the embarrassing number of places to be occupied. After various speculations and reports respecting the plan of hostilities which he would pursue, uncertainty was at length removed by his marching towards Arcot, and taking ground before it on the 21st of August; but on the 29th, hearing that the English army had made its first march from the neighbourhood of Madras on the 26th, he moved with his whole force towards Conjeveram. The whole of the Madras army, under General Munro, did not much exceed 5000 men; and with great difficulty sufficient rice had been provided to serve the troops for eight days. Another strong detachment, under Colonel Baillie, in advancing to form a junction with the main army, was, after a brave struggle against overpowering numbers, annihilated. About two hundred Europeans only were taken prisoners, reserved to the horrors of a captivity more terrible than death. Hyder had acted, during the whole of these operations, under the apprehension that Munro was manœuvring upon his rear; and had not that general been deterred, through his total want of intelligence, from marching to the support of Baillie, it is probable that the army of Hyder would have sustained a total defeat.* He

* Col. Wilks shews, that the movements of both commanders were a series of blunders. See for the details, vol. ii. pp. 268—278. The following anecdote must not be suppressed. "Among the prisoners was a son of Colonel Lang, who commanded Vellore; a child, rather than a youth, born in India, who was serving as a volunteer. Hyder sent for the boy, and ordered him instantly to write a letter to his father, offering him a splendid establishment on the condition of surrendering the place, and announcing that his own death would be the result of refusal. The boy at first

had now no alternative but to retreat to Chingleput, where he left the sick and part of his baggage, and on the next day, marched for the Mount. Nothing could exceed the consternation of the Presidency, who now trembled for Madras; and had Hyder followed the English with his usual impetuosity, it is hard to say how nearly he might have involved the Carnatic interests of the nation in ruin.

In this extremity, the Governor-general (Hastings) deemed it necessary to interfere, and to remedy as far as possible the disasters produced by the imbecility of the Madras administration, and the incapacity of the commander, by sending out Sir Eyre Coote from Bengal with independent powers. He took the field, in Jan. 1781, against the numerous host of Hyder, with an army not exceeding 7000 men, of whom only 1700 were Europeans. The want of provisions and equipments soon placed them in the most discouraging difficulties; and a battle, which Hyder's policy led him anxiously to avoid, was looked to as the only means of relief. Several months passed without any operations of importance. In the mean time, the fall of Arcot and Amboor had been followed by the surrender of Thiagar; Hyder's cavalry overran and plundered the open country of Tanjore; and Tippoo Saib, with a large division of his army, laid siege to Wandewash. Hy-

received the proposition with a cool rejection; but on being pressed with direct threats, he burst into tears, and addressing Hyder in his own language: 'If you consider *me*, (said he) base enough to write such a letter, on what ground can you think so meanly of *my father?* It is in your power to present me before the ramparts of Vellore, and cut me in a thousand pieces in my father's presence; but it is out of your power to make him a traitor.' The threats were, however, renewed by the attendants in a separate tent; but, being found ineffectual, the child (afterwards Major-General Lang) was remanded to the quarters of the other prisoners."—Wilks, ii. 280.

der was preparing to march against Trichinopoly, when, elated by an advantage gained over General Coote in an affair at Chillumbrum, he resolved to hazard a battle, and was defeated after a contest of six hours. This victory was gained on the 1st of July, near Porto Novo, and its consequences were most important. Hyder abandoned his designs upon the southern provinces; Tippoo raised the siege of Wandewash; and both retired, with the whole of their army, to Arcot. The English followed; an action of dubious character was fought at Polliloor, in which the English suffered severely; but, at the pass of Sholinghur on the road to Vellore, Hyder was surprised and sustained considerable loss. This was on the 27th of September; and in November, the fall of the rains terminated the campaign.

The "duplicity and iniquity" of the English ally were, throughout this conflict, a prominent subject of complaint. In all cases to which his power extended, he is charged with having clandestinely sold the grain which might have mitigated the distresses of the army, in order to enrich his private coffers.* It is difficult to ascertain what degree of truth there is in the allegation, which would involve in infamy not the Nabob alone. Having successfully tried the effect of an agency in England, he was now advised to make trial of the same expedient on the controlling Board in India; and in 1781, he sent his *duan*, together with an English agent, on a secret mission to Calcutta. To this embassy, the rulers of Bengal gave a cordial reception; and having already conferred the exclusive power over the military operations upon their general, Sir Eyre Coote, they now attempted to wrest the civil power out of the hands of the Madras Govern-

* Wilks, ii., 349.

ment, by setting up an independent agency. Lord Macartney was at this time governor and president of Fort St. George, having arrived at Madras in June 1781; a nobleman whose urbanity, moderation, and firmness admirably qualified him to cope with the difficulties of his situation. Instead of resenting this new assumption of power on the part of the Bengal Government as an injury, he coolly withstood its interference, expressing his apprehensions, that the Governor and Council of Madras were not free to divest themselves of the powers with which they had been entrusted. He availed himself, however, of one part of the plan laid down by the Supreme Council, which authorized the temporary transfer to the Company of the whole of the Nabob's revenues, a sixth of the proceeds being reserved for his use; and by this deed, dated Dec. 2, 1781, the inconveniences of a double government were so far got rid of. With equal wisdom and calmness of temper, Lord Macartney endeavoured to soothe the ill humour of the veteran general, whose natural irritability was heightened by the infirmities of age, by the difficulties of his situation, and by want of success.* When, however, Sir Eyre refused to concur in his designs against the Dutch settlements, Macartney boldly took the responsibility upon himself. Sadras and Pulicat had already surrendered; but their principal settlement on the Coromandel coast was Negapatam, near the southern boundary of

* In a private letter, Lord Macartney says: "I court him like a mistress, and humour him like a child; but, with all this, I have a most sincere regard for him, and honour him highly. But I am truly grieved at heart, to see a man of his military reputation, at his time of life, made miserable by those who ought to make him happy, and, from a great public character, worked into the little instrument of private malignity and disappointed avarice."—Mill, iv. 202.

Tanjore. Against this important fort, the President sent out a force under Sir Hector Munro,* which, supported by the British fleet, soon compelled the garrison to capitulate. The troops who surrendered, amounted to 6550, being considerably more in number than the besieging army. With Negapatam, the whole of the Dutch settlements on that coast fell into the hands of the English; and Hyder's troops immediately began to evacuate the forts which they had occupied in the province of Tanjore. The expedition then sailed for Trincomalee, a celebrated Dutch settlement on the Island of Ceylon, which was soon taken, but was shortly afterwards recovered by the French admiral.

The year 1782 was an eventful one. In the month of January, a French fleet arrived on the Coromandel coast, and, after intercepting several vessels bound to Madras with grain, landed at Porto Novo 2000 men. They were soon joined by a large detachment of Hyder's army, under the command of his son Tippoo, who had just been employed in inflicting upon the English one of the deepest wounds which they had sustained during the war. Colonel Brathwaite, with 100 Europeans, 1500 native troops, and 300 cavalry, stationed for the purpose of protecting Tanjore, lay encamped on the banks of the Coleroon. Here he was surprised by Tippoo, with 10,000 horse, an equal number of infantry, 20 pieces of cannon, and a European corps under M. Lally, 400 strong. From the 16th to the 18th of February, surrounded on all sides by an enemy who outnumbered them twenty to one, they withstood incessant attacks. At last, after

* Sir Hector had withdrawn from the army in consequence of an affront received from General Coote during the affair at Pollilore.

twenty-six hours' unintermitted conflict, when great numbers of the English had fallen, and the rest were worn out with wounds and fatigue, Lally advanced at the head of his corps with fixed bayonets, supported by a large body of infantry, and covered by cavalry. At this tremendous appearance, the resolution of the sepoys failed, and they were thrown into confusion.*

The arrival of so important an aid augmented to an alarming degree the army of Tippoo. Cuddalore yielded to their united force on the 3d of April, affording a convenient military and naval station for the French. The English army left their cantonments about the middle of April; but Hyder baffled every attempt to bring him to battle, while he continually harassed and wasted his enemy. Towards the end of October, Sir Eyre Coote, having sustained a second paralytic attack, resigned the command to Gen. Stuart, and set sail for Bengal. Madras was at this time suffering under an accumulation of evils. The ravages of Hyder had driven crowds of the inhabitants from all parts of the country to seek refuge in the capital, where multitudes were daily perishing of want. "Famine now raged in all its horrors, and the multitude of the dead and dying threatened to superadd the evils of pestilence. The bodies of those who expired in the streets or the houses, without any one to inter them, were daily collected and piled in carts, to be buried in large trenches made for

* Mill, iv. 212.—Tippoo is stated to have treated his prisoners, on this occasion, especially the officers and wounded men, with real attention and humanity....It appears that Brathwaite had trusted to a system of false intelligence conducted by Hyder's spies, and received with incredulity the timely warning of a native.

the purpose out of the town; to the number, for several weeks, of not fewer, it is said, than twelve or fifteen hundred a week....Fortunately for the English, the French had no information or conception of the unprotected and starving condition in which Madras had been left. It remained unvisited even by a few frigates to intercept the corn ships; and from Bengal and the Circars, considerable supplies were received. An event also occurred, of such magnitude as to affect the views of almost every state in India, and suddenly to cheer the gloom which darkened the prospects of the English. Their great enemy, Hyder Ali, died at Chitore in the beginning of December, at an age not exactly ascertained, but certainly exceeding eighty."*

Tippoo, at the time of his father's death, was at a great distance; the weakness of the English in the Carnatic having enabled Hyder to detach him to repel an invasion of his western provinces under Colonel Humberstone. No sooner was Lord Macartney informed of the event, than, aware of the feeble cement of an Indian army deprived of its leader, he earnestly pressed on General Stuart the expediency of immediately marching against the enemy. The General

* Mill, iv. 222—4. The health of Hyder had been for some months declining; and in Nov., symptoms appeared of the fatal disease called *Raj-póra* (the royal boil). He died Dec. 7. Previously to his death, he is stated to have meditated an entire change in the conduct of the war, of which the prospect of a Mahratta invasion, together with insurrections in Malabar, Bullum, and Courg, and an English invasion of his western territories, had made him repent; and he was preparing to destroy and then abandon the country he had conquered on the Coromandel coast. "I have committed a great error," he said to his minister, Poornea, "I have purchased a draught of *seandee* (date-wine) at the price of a lac of pagodas..I can ruin the resources of the English by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."—Wilks, ii. 373—413.

affected to disbelieve the intelligence, and obstinately refused, from mere opposition to the civil authority, to put his troops in readiness.

When the fact could no longer be doubted, and the commanding officer at Tripasore sent express intelligence that the enemy's camp was in consternation, numbers having deserted, and that the whole army, if attacked before the arrival of Tippoo, would immediately disband, the English General coolly declared the army deficient in equipments ; nor did he commence his march till thirty-four days after Tippoo's arrival and succession had been quietly proclaimed, and sixty after the death of Hyder. The address and fidelity of the leading officers of the Mysorean army, who concealed the fatal event from the troops,* had succeeded in preserving some obedience and order ; and the immediate payment of their arrears, with a few popular regulations, firmly established Tippoo on his father's throne. The alarming aspect of affairs on the western coast, and the actual capture of Bednore by the English, rendered it expedient for him to hasten back with the main body of his army to defend his own dominions ; and when at length, the British General, after withdrawing the garrisons from Wandewash and Carangooly, and demolishing the fortifications, had marched to the relief of Vellore, he learned that Tippoo had ordered Arcot to be evacuated and dismantled, and that he was himself retreating from the Carnatic. General Stuart then proceeded to besiege Cuddalore ;

* Suspicions of the fact had, from the first, been whispered about the camp ; but it soon became evident, that the government was in vigorous hands, and that obedience was the safest course. A conspiracy to proclaim Abdul Kerreem, Hyder's second son, was detected, and suppressed with singular ability. All the arrangements of the army and the business of state went on as usual. The interesting details are given by Col. Wilks, ii. 413—19.

but M. Bussy, being re-inforced by a French fleet, found himself at the head of a garrison which out-numbered the besieging force; and the English were relieved from a critical situation, by the arrival, in July, of a flag of truce from Madras, announcing the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and France.* Along with the flag of truce, the Madras Government sent orders for the recal of General Stuart, and he was, by a unanimous vote of the Committee, dismissed from the Company's service. On his intimating his intention to resist their authority, he was arrested and sent to England.†

It is now necessary to advert more specifically to the operations which had been going forward on the western coast.

After the capture and destruction of Mahé in 1779, the Madras detachment marched to the relief of the chief and factory of Tellicherry, which was besieged by Hyder's tributary Nairs. In May 1781, Colonel

* In one of the sallies made by the garrison, a young French serjeant was taken prisoner, of the name of Bernadotte, whose interesting appearance particularly attracted the attention of Colonel Wangenheim, commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the English service: and he ordered him to be treated with every attention. When the French army under Bernadotte entered Hanover, Gen. Wangenheim attended the levee of the conqueror, who recognised him, and publicly acknowledged his obligations.—Wilks, ii. 442.

† General Stuart was the officer employed by the faction who arrested Lord Pigot in 1776; and the retributive act gave rise to some effusions of wit. It is said, that Lord Macartney was in apprehension of being himself arrested, his Lordship's suspension from the government, having been in the avowed contemplation of Mr. Hastings. Gen. Coote had been, in April, sent back from Bengal, with powers subversive of the authority of the subordinate presidency; to which his Lordship was determined not to submit. The death of the aged general on the third day after landing, happily prevented the struggle; and in the following year, Mr. Hastings's own situation became too alarming to leave him inclination for a stretch of his authority.—Wilks, ii. 438.—Mill, iv. 254.

Brathwaite was relieved by Major Abington with a force from Bombay, who was at length enabled by re-inforcements to act on the offensive, and to clear the country of the besieging force. He then marched against Calicut, which surrendered on the 13th of February, 1782. Here, a few days after, he was joined by Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie with 1000 men, originally destined for Madras, but which apprehensions of the French fleet led the commander to land at Calicut, with a view to attempt a diversion on the Malabar side of Hyder's dominions. At the head of their united force, the Colonel took the field, and driving before him the army which was left for the protection of those parts, captured several forts before the approach of the monsoon compelled him to return to Calicut, to place his little army in cantonments. After remaining here from the end of May till the beginning of September, he again proceeded, and had advanced as far as Palaghautcherry, when the approach of Tippoo at the head of a far superior army, rendered it necessary to retreat to Paniané. Tippoo was engaged in operations against this place, when he was recalled by news of his father's death ; and the English army met with no further obstruction in returning, the sepoys by land to Tellicherry, the Europeans by sea to Merjee.

In January 1783, General Mathews arrived at Merjee with an army from Bombay, and summoned to his standard the rest of the troops on that part of the coast. He took by storm the fort of Onore (Honâver) ; reduced some other places of smaller consequence ; and, about the middle of the month, moved towards the great pass called the Hussaingherry Ghaut. The ascent consists of a winding road of about five miles* in

* Col. Wilks says, "a rugged acclivity of seven miles."

length, defended by batteries and redoubts at every turning. The army entered the pass on the morning of the 25th, and, chiefly with the bayonet, carried every thing before them till they reached a strong redoubt at the top of the Ghaut. This appeared impregnable; but a party clambering up the rocks, came round upon it behind, and the whole of the pass was placed in their power. The next day, they advanced to Hyder-nuggur, the name now given to the capital of Bednore. They were on their march, with no more than six rounds of ammunition for each man, when an English prisoner arrived with proposals from the governor to surrender not only the city, but the country and all its dependencies. With the capital, most of the minor forts made a ready submission. Annanpore stood the storm, and was carried on the 14th of February. Mangalore, after a breach had been effected, surrendered. But now, the alleged rapacity and misconduct of the English general ruined all, and the whole results of this brilliant success were lost. A vast treasure was supposed to have been found in Bednore, of which, although the troops had received no pay for twelve months, the General positively refused to divide any part; and the refractory proceedings to which this conduct gave rise, were punished with a severity which only served to increase the general discontent. Three of the leading officers left the army, to lay their complaints before the Bombay Government; and so flagrant did the General's conduct appear, that Colonel Macleod was sent back to supersede him; but the ship in which he went out, was taken by a Mahratta fleet.*

* Such is the statement adopted by Mr. Mill. In Colonel Wilks's narrative, some additional details are given with important variations. It appears, that General Mathews made the push for

In the mean time, the forty-second regiment was sent from Bednore to seize some forts below the Ghauts; and the army was dispersed in detachments, to occupy almost every town and mud fort in the country. Nothing was dreamed of but riches; fortifications, intelligence, the means of subsistence were all equally neglected; when, suddenly, on the 9th of April, Tippoo appeared, and, after driving in a detachment stationed at Fattehput, seized the town of Bednore, with a considerable quantity of ammunition which he found there unsecured, and laid siege to the fort, while detachments were sent to occupy the Ghauts and surrounding country. The English in Bednore, cut off from retreat, their ammunition expended, their provisions low, and their numbers thinned by disease, capitulated on the 30th; but, instead of being sent to the coast, according to the terms of the surrender, they were marched off in irons to the strong fortresses of Mysore.

Bednore, in consequence of positive orders from Bombay, contrary to his own plan of securing by a strong occupation the country in his rear, and disclaiming responsibility on account of the insufficiency of his means. "Without the enemy's rice and powder and ball," he declares, that they must have stopped till the army could be furnished. The surrender of Bednore by Sheikh Ayaz, the governor, is sufficiently explained by his having intercepted a letter from Tippoo, giving orders for his being put to death. The story of the barbarities practised by the English at Onore, referred to by Mr. Mill on the authority of the Annual Register, is asserted to have been the fabrication of a "silly young man," and destitute of the shadow of truth. With regard to the countless treasures said to be found at Bednore, it is remarked, that "General Mathews, in a testamentary memorandum delivered to his fellow-prisoners, to be used only in the event of his death, declares, that the public was indebted to him in the sum of 33,000 rupees, advanced from his private fortune during his command, besides the arrears of his military allowances." The blind confidence with which he frittered away his means of defence, receives no adequate explanation.—Wilks, ii., ch 27.

Tippoo now proceeded to invest Mangalore, in which the remains of the English army had collected. The besieging force is stated at 60,000 horse, 30,000 disciplined sepoys, 600 French infantry, Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, a French troop of dismounted cavalry, irregular troops to the amount of many thousands, and nearly one hundred pieces of artillery. The British garrison, under Col. Campbell, consisted of 696 Europeans, including officers, and 2350 black troops, besides pioneers and camp-followers; yet, for nine months did this little garrison, in a place of contemptible strength, occupy the services of Tippoo's main army. At one time, Tippoo had agreed to an armistice, in consequence of intelligence being brought of the peace between Great Britain and France; and one condition was, that the besieged should be allowed to purchase provisions at the rates of Tippoo's camp. This agreement was evaded; and he continued his operations, while the garrison were reduced to the greatest extremities, and the most loathsome food was greedily consumed. At length, when two-thirds of the garrison were sick, and the rest had scarcely strength to sustain their arms, the deaths amounting to twelve and fifteen a day; when the sepoys began to desert, and the Europeans shewed signs of mutiny, owing to the scandalous delay of promised succours; the gallant Campbell, on the 26th of January, offered to capitulate; and the remains of the garrison were allowed to march to Tellicherry with all the honours of war. This brave officer did not, however, long survive the fatigues of the service, but died on the 23d of March.*

* For further details relating to this memorable siege, see Wilks, ii. 463—481; Mill, iv. 244—247; and for a very interesting detail of the defence of Onore, which was maintained with similar

This unimportant triumph was dearly purchased. Measures had in the mean time been taken by the Madras Government to create a diversion; and Colonel Fullarton had penetrated from the south into the very heart of Mysore. In April and May 1783, the forts of Caroor, Aravarcouchy, and Dindigul* were reduced; and Daraporam fell on the 2d of June. At this point in the career of conquest, the army was stopped by intelligence of the armistice, which Tippoo alone did not respect. In October, on hearing that he was renewing his operations against Mangalore, Colonel Fullarton marched through incessant rain to Palaghautcherry,† which fell after a short siege; and Coimbetoor, which they reached on the 26th of November, surrendered before they had effected a breach. "A chain of connected operations could now be carried on by the army of Colonel Macleod on the western coast, and that of Fullarton in the south. The army of the north was acting in Cudapah, in which and the neighbouring provinces, the power of Tippoo was ill-established. All the petty princes on the western coast were supposed ready to shake off their dependence. The co-operation was confidently expected of the Hindoo inhabitants of Mysore, of whom the Brahmins were in correspondence with the English.‡ Fullarton had provided his army with

ability and heroism till the conclusion of the treaty, see Forbes's Or. Memoirs, iv. 111—175.

* Caroor was, at this time, the frontier post of Mysore in Coimbetoor.

† The difficult route by which the army penetrated to Palaghaut, is cut through the centre of a stately teak forest, which covers this immense break in the Alpine chain of the Peninsula, having the stupendous hills close on the left.—Wilks, ii. 495.

‡ A conspiracy was formed at Seringapatam, which appears to have been defeated by the precipitancy and imprudence of its leaders. For the details, see Wilks, ii. 496—502.

ten days' grain, repaired the carriages, and made every arrangement for pushing forward to Seringapatam, with victory sparkling in his eye; when he received, on the 28th of November, commands from the Commissioners appointed to treat with Tippoo, to restore immediately all posts, forts, and countries lately reduced, and to retire within the limits occupied on the 26th of July. He had made some progress in the execution of these commands, when he received, on the 26th of January, directions to re-assemble the army, and prepare for a renewal of the war."* At length, after encountering the most harassing difficulties and vexatious delays, and meeting the crafty and deceitful practices of Tippoo with temper and perseverance, the negotiators succeeded, on the 11th of March, in gaining his signature to a treaty, by which, on the general condition of a mutual restitution of conquests, peace was obtained at the price of the most complete national humiliation.†

* Mill, iv. 242, 3.

† The precipitation and credulity with which the Madras Government abandoned their conquests before the negotiation was concluded, and after repeated instances of Tippoo's breach of faith, drew from the venerable Swartz, the exclamation of surprise: "Alas! is the peace so certain, that you quit all before the negotiation is ended?" It is painful to read in the narrative of Colonel Wilks, the studied insult and humiliation to which the British Commissioners submitted. "Three gibbets were erected opposite to the tent doors of each of the Commissioners, and every species of indignity was studiously practised." Pending the negotiation, intelligence was received of the murder of General Mathews and several other officers in prison. Mr. Mill seems to doubt the fact of their assassination, taking no notice of the circumstance, except in his apology for the character of Tippoo, in which his candour leads him to explain away the cold-blooded cruelties of the barbarian prince, by affirming the accounts to be greatly *exaggerated*. "Of his cruelty," he says, "we have heard the more, because our own countrymen were among the victims of it. But it is to be observed, that, unless in certain instances, the proof of

One of the first acts by which Tippoo signalized his accession to the throne, after the return of the army to the upper country, was the deportation and forcible conversion of upwards of 30,000 Christians from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Canara. The account of this achievement, as given by himself, is to the following effect. "The Portuguese Nazarenes, who, for a long period, have possessed factories on the sea-coasts, obtained, about three hundred years ago, an establishment of this nature, on pretence of trade, on the coast of Soonda, at a place situated midway in the course of a large river and estuary;* and, in process of time, watching their opportunity, obtained from the Rajah a country yielding a revenue of three or four laks of rupees. They then proceeded to prohibit the Mohammedan worship within these limits, and to expel its votaries. To the Brahmins and other Hindoos, they proclaimed a notice of three days, within which time they were at liberty to depart, and, in failure, to be enrolled in the new religion. Some, alarmed at the proposal, abandoned their property and possessions; others, deeming the whole to be an empty threat, ventured to remain; and, on the appointed day, the Nazarenes enrolled them in their own foolish religion. In process of time, and

which cannot be regarded as better than doubtful, their sufferings, *however intense*, were *only the sufferings of a very rigorous imprisonment;* of which, considering the manner in which it is lavished by their own laws, Englishmen ought not to be very forward to complain."—Mill, vi. 130. According to this reasoning, there is no treatment, however perfidious, of which Englishmen ought to complain; no atrocity which may not be palliated. The fact, as stated by Colonel Wilks, is, that almost all the captains taken at Bednore, were singled out and destroyed by Tippoo's orders. See Wilks, ii. 521—4.

* Goa is intended. Soonda is a district now comprehended in North Canara.

by means of rare presents, and flattery, and pecuniary offerings, they prevailed on the senseless Rajahs of Nuggur, Courial (Mangalore), and Soonda, to tolerate their further proceedings, and began gradually to erect shrines and chapels; and in each of these idol temples, they established one or two *padres*, that is to say, monks.....In this manner, they made a multitude of Christians, and continued to this day the same practices. When his Majesty, the Shadow of God, was informed of these circumstances, the rage of Islam began to boil in his breast. He first gave orders, that a special enumeration and description should be made and transmitted, of the houses of the Christians in each district. Detachments under trusty officers were then distributed in the proper places, with sealed orders, to be opened and executed on one and the same day, after the devotions of the morning; and, in conformity to these instructions, 60,000 persons, great and small, of both sexes, were seized and carried to the resplendent presence; whence, being placed under proper guardians, and provided with every thing needful, they were despatched to the royal capital; and, being formed into battalions of five hundred each, under the command of officers well instructed in the faith, they were honoured with the distinction of Islam. They were finally distributed to the principal garrisons, with orders for a daily provision of food, apparel, and other requisites." The true numbers, Colonel Wilks says, were about half his Majesty's estimate; and "as far as could be ascertained from conjecture, one-third of the number did not survive the first year." *

* Wilks, ii. 528—30. The *Chelas* of the western coast who were thus pressed into the pale of Islam, received the name of *Ahmedy*: those from Coromandel were named *Assud Ullah*, Lions of the Lord.

In returning to the upper countries, the route through Bullum afforded an opportunity of quelling, for a long time, the protracted rebellion of the mountaineers of that province; and thence, the army proceeded, for a similar purpose, into the adjacent hills and forests of Coorg, where a temporary submission was produced. It was not long, however, before they were again in revolt; and Tippoo, entering Coorg with two columns, drew a military circle round the great mass of the population, which he gradually contracted, sending his troops to beat up the woods before them, precisely as if dislodging so much game. By these means, he enclosed about 70,000 of the inhabitants, who were driven off like a herd of cattle to Seringapatam, where they also were "honoured with the distinction of Islam." No occasion seemed more proper or auspicious than this extensive accession of infidels to the ranks of the faithful, for proclaiming the royal dignity which Tippoo had now determined to assume. His return to his capital from Coorg, took place early in January 1786. The whole of the intended ceremony was not publicly announced; but all good Mohammedans were summoned to attend the reading of the *Khutba*, at the mosque of the Lâll Baugh. When the officiating Moollah (Ali Reza) came to that part in which prayers are offered up for the reigning sovereign, instead of the name of Shah Allum, (as was still customary in the mosques all over India,) he substituted that of Tippoo Sultaun, to the astonishment of the audience. The reason assigned by the Sultan, in one of his official letters, was, that Shah Allum being the prisoner or servant of Sindia, none but an idiot could consider him as a sovereign. From that day forward, the *chobdars* and attendants were ordered, in announcing the salutations of persons who entered the

durbar, to observe the formalities of the court of Delhi, and proclaim the presence of a king, by which title (*Padsha*) he was ordered to be addressed and designated by all his subjects. It was during the march to Bangalore for the Mahratta war, that this change of title was made universally known to the army.*

We have now brought down our narrative of affairs in the South, to a period which forms a new epoch in the history of British India. In September 1786, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta as Governor General,† furnished with an extensive code of instructions, the joint production of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors; and vested with those enlarged powers which were conferred by the new act of parliament passed in that year for the better administration of Indian affairs.

The state of the connexion with the Nabob of Oude was the object which first solicited his attention. That chief bitterly complained of the pecuniary burthen imposed upon him. It appeared that, during the nine years preceding, he had paid to the Company, under different claims, at the rate of eighty-four laks of rupees *per annum*. It was now agreed, that an annual payment of fifty laks should embrace every possible claim.

His Lordship carried out with him explicit orders to demand from the Nizam the surrender of the Circar of Guntoor, the reversion of which, in consequence of the death of Basalut Jung, in 1782, devolved, in pursuance of agreement, upon the Company. It was not,

* Wilks, ii. 345, 6.

† Lord Macartney was appointed by the Directors to succeed Mr. Hastings; but he resolved to decline the appointment, till a visit to England should enable him to come to a personal understanding with the Directors and the Board of Control; and he was not allowed to make his terms.

however, till the year 1788, that the state of affairs seemed to present a favourable opportunity for pressing this demand; when the Nizam, anxious at this time to stand on good terms with the English, manifested an unexpected readiness to comply with the requisition, and surrendered the Circar in September of that year. The unfortunate issue of a recent contest with Tippoo Sultaun, had made him desirous of reviving his connexion with the Company; and he deputed Meer Abdul Cassim (Meer Allum) to Calcutta, for the purpose of conveying fully his sentiments and wishes on this head to the Governor General. This mission led to a new engagement, explanatory of the treaty of 1768, (conveyed in the form of a letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Nizam, but intended to have the force of a regular treaty,) by which, in effect, an offensive alliance against Tippoo was covertly concluded. A subsidiary force was to be granted to the Nizam, on his requisition, the employment of which was left to his discretion, with the proviso of its not being directed against the powers in alliance with the Company, among whom Tippoo alone was not specifically included.* The real character of this alliance did not escape the observation of the Sultan; and it is evident, that Lord Cornwallis must have contemplated an early war with Tippoo as inevitable.† This letter was dated July 1, 1789.

* The powers named are, "Pundit Purdhaun, Madhajee Sindia, Madhajee Ragojee Bhonsla, and other Mahratta chiefs, the Nabob of Arcot, the Nabob Vizier, or the Rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore."

† His Lordship's conduct in thus indirectly violating the act of parliament by which he was restricted from entering into any fresh treaty, has been much criticised. Sir John Malcolm remarks, "that the literal construction of the restrictions of the act, had, upon this occasion, the effect of making the Governor General

What might, perhaps, be regarded as symptoms of hostile designs in Tippoo, had, indeed, already manifested themselves. Early in the preceding year, Tippoo had descended the Ghauts at the head of an army, for the ostensible purpose of taking cognizance of his dominions on the western coast. From Calicut, he proceeded to Coimbetoor and Dindigul; and the Rajah of Travancore communicated to the Madras Government, his apprehension of being invaded at once from the east and the north, in consequence of the minute investigation of the routes on each of those frontiers. After laying waste with fire and sword the territories of such of the polygars dependent on Dindigul and Coimbetoor as had recently failed in allegiance, Tippoo returned to Seringapatam in August. In the following January, a simultaneous rebellion in Coorg and Malabar called him again into those provinces. The report of the arrival of his army drove the Nairs, as usual, into their woods and mountains; and Tippoo divided his troops into numerous detachments for the purpose of apprehending them. They were now offered the alternative of a voluntary profession of the Mohammedan faith, or a forcible conversion with deportation from their native land. So terrible was the idea of an emigration, with which was connected the apprehension of almost inevitable death,* that great numbers of Nairs, inces-

pursue a course, not only questionable, perhaps, in point of faith, but which must have been more offensive to Tippoo Sultaun, and more calculated to produce a war with that prince, than an avowed contract of a defensive engagement, framed for the express and legitimate purpose of limiting his inordinate ambition. Col. Wilks remarks, that his Lordship "assumed wrong grounds for doing right." See Malcolm's P. H. i. 53—57. Wilks, iii. 38, 68. Mill, v. 264—7.

* The singular opinion was entertained by them, and still pre-

santly hunted out of their places of concealment, at length came forward to be circumcised and eat beef, as the only mode of escaping a more cruel fate. Tippoo, in his own account of this holy war, takes to himself the credit of having destroyed 8000 idol temples, many of them roofed with gold, silver, or copper, and all containing treasures buried at the feet of the idol. The palpable exaggeration of this boast, does not detract from the importance of the statement, as an illustration at once of the character of Tippoo and of the consequences of his ruthless policy. On his return to Coimbetoor, for the rains, six divisions, consisting of two brigades each, were left in Malabar, with distinct establishments of officers, spiritual, civil, and military, charged with the threefold duty of surveying the lands, numbering the productive trees, and seizing and instructing the remaining Nairs. While at Coimbetoor, the Sultan made a further augmentation of his infantry, in preparation for the war which he evidently contemplated.

The joint duties of the spiritual and military officers entrusted with superintending the conversion of the Nairs, appear to have been executed with horrible precision.* Many of the natives, however, fled to the English settlement of Tellicherry, whence they embarked for Travancore; and some escaped by the connivance of the Rajah of Cochin. Tippoo was

vails, Colonel Wilks says, in Mysore, that small-pox is spontaneously generated by the mere translocation of a crowded mass of population from Malabar to the upper country. Some curious remarks on this subject will be found in Wilks, iii. 15—22.

* On the capture of Palaghaut by the English in the ensuing year, one of the Sultan's "circular orders for conversion," under his seal and signature, was found in the fort: it directed the employment of any and all means for the universal conversion of the natives.—Wilks, iii. 24.

anxious to achieve the conquest of Travancore, without appearing as a principal in the war. He had, in 1788, actually adjusted with the Zamorin of Calicut, the restoration of a part of his former territories, on the condition of his invading Travancore for the Sultan, but in his own name, on the pretext of certain antiquated claims. This project was foiled by the Sultan's precipitation in beginning the work of universal circumcision, which the Zamorin resented, and joined in the general insurrection. Tippoo now wished to make the Rajah of Cochin his instrument in effecting the same object; and when the Madras President (Sir Archibald Campbell) frankly communicated to Tippoo, in 1789, the fears and representations of the Travancore Rajah; adding, that any aggression on that ally would be considered by the English as equivalent to a declaration of war; the Sultan's answer stated, that the interposition of the territories of his dependent, the Rajah of Cochin, prevented the possibility of collision between him and Travancore.

The principality of Travancore commences near the island of Vipeen, at the mouth of the Chinnamangolum river, whence it extends southward to Cape Comorin, being bounded eastward by the chain of mountains terminating near that promontory, by which it is separated from the province of Tinnevelly. A double line of works, facing from N. to N. E., was connected with the natural defence of this mountain barrier. Part of the territory of the Cochin sovereign lay northward of this line of defence; but a considerable part, including his capital, was blended with Travancore on the southern side. The lines, constructed in 1775, consisted of a ditch about 16 feet broad and 20 deep, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and

good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking each other. They were, however, more imposing than effectual, as, throughout the dangerous extent of thirty miles, (the distance from the island of Vipeen to the Anamalaiah range,) few points were closed in the rear, and those imperfectly, so that nearly the whole would fall on carrying a single point. Some time after their construction, Hyder, who was extending his conquests over the Malabar chiefs, carried his arms against that part of the Cochin territory which was without the wall; and the Rajah, rather than lose that portion of his dominions, consented to become his tributary.

It is necessary to observe, that part of these lines were erected upon a stripe of land which, with other portions of territory, had been ceded to the Travancore Rajah by his neighbour, in recompense of the powerful aid afforded to him by the former in repelling an invasion of the Zamorin of Calicut in 1760-1. They were also continued across the island of Vipeen, in the rear of the Dutch fort of Ayacotta, and on ground purchased of the Dutch by the Travancore Rajah. Tippoo now directed his tributary to demand back those districts of Cochin which had been ceded to the Rajah of Travancore, promising the aid of the Mysore troops to enforce his claim. He contended at the same time, in his communications with the Madras Government, that the line actually intersected the country of his tributary, and was consequently built on his own territory; that the Rajah of Travancore had no right to build a wall on his (the Sultan's) territory, nor to exclude him from visiting every part of his dominions on either side of the wall. To obviate this pretence, the Travancore Rajah renewed a long-pending negotiation with the Dutch for the purchase of Cranganore and

Ayacotta (Jeycotah), possessions situated within Cochin, but the independent sovereignty of which had, a century before, been obtained by conquest from the Portuguese. The validity of this purchase was contested by Tippoo; and the Madras Government were guilty of the imbecility of countenancing the thin pretext, and despatched a peremptory command to the Rajah to annul the contract, and restore these places to the Dutch.* They also lent their authority to another of his alleged grievances, by requiring the Rajah to discontinue his protection to the fugitive Nairs who had sought an asylum in his dominions. Lord Cornwallis, on receiving these representations, directed, that proposals should be transmitted to Tippoo for a mutual appointment of commissioners to try the points in dispute; but that, from the moment Tippoo should invade any part of the territory of either the Rajah of Travancore or the Nabob of Arcot, he should be considered as in a state of war.

In May 1789, Tippoo, having again descended to the coast, began with summoning the fort of Cranganore; and the Rajah prepared to unite with the Dutch in defending it. But, after making several demonstrations, he retired, and placed his troops at Palaghautcherry and Coimbetoor. In December, he again encamped at a place about twenty-five miles from the frontier of Travancore, whence he sent a *vakeel* to the Rajah, announcing his demands; to which a reply was returned, denying the claims on which they were founded. He then approached the lines, and began to erect his batteries. On the morning of the

* The purchase had been made at the suggestion and with the sanction of Major Bannerman; and the Sultan himself recognised the right of sale, by offering the Dutch double the sum contracted to be paid by the Rajah.—Wilks, iii. 45.

29th, he turned by surprise the right flank of the lines, where no passage was supposed to exist, and introduced a portion of his army within the wall; but, before he could gain the gate which it was his object to open, and at which he expected to admit the rest of his army, his troops were thrown into confusion by some slight resistance, and, a panic ensuing, they fled in disorder across the ditch, which was filled with the trampled and the slain. Tippoo himself was present at the attack, and not without personal danger made his escape. His palankeen remained in the ditch, the bearers having been trodden to death; his seals, rings, and personal ornaments fell as trophies into the hands of the enemy; and a lameness, to which he was occasionally subject ever after, was occasioned by the severe contusions which he received.*

No sooner did intelligence of these events reach Calcutta, than the Governor General announced to the Madras rulers, his intention to employ all the resources within his reach, "to exact a full reparation from Tippoo for this wanton and unprovoked violation of treaty." Relieved from the restrictions under which he had previously considered himself as placed, he hastened to secure, by a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, the hearty co-operation of the Nizam in the war against the Sultan. And, after some delay, a similar treaty was also concluded with the court of Poonah.

After Tippoo had met with this repulse, he addressed two letters to the Madras Government, in which he disavowed the outrage, describing it as the unauthorized act of his troops, and making the most extravagant

* Wilks, iii. 46—8, Mill, v. 277.

professions of friendship for the English Government. These professions, though contradicted by the whole tenor of his conduct, were credulously received by the President of Fort St. George, (Mr. Holland,) as proofs of his pacific disposition. Lord Cornwallis, with a more just appreciation of the true character of the enemy, warmly resented the hesitation expressed to act upon his orders; remarking, in his subsequent despatch to General Medows, by whom Mr. Holland was succeeded, that if Tippoo were "suffered to retain his present importance, and to insult and bully all his neighbours, until the French should again be in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war." * In the mean time, Tippoo had renewed his operations, and having rendered himself master of the lines, soon obtained possession of Cranganore. The troops of the Rajah fled in all directions. All the northern quarter of Travancore was now seized by the conqueror, who razed the lines, and spread desolation over the country.

* Mill, v. 285. The civil authorities of Madras might naturally feel disinclined to be again subjected to military ascendancy; besides which, as "all payments to the private creditors of the Nabob were to be suspended in case of war, and even the advances for providing the Company's investment were to be withheld," the pacific wishes of the Madras rulers are easily accounted for. "So far am I from giving credit to the late government," said Lord Cornwallis, "for not making the necessary preparations for war, after receiving the grossest insults that could be offered to any nation, I think it very possible, that every *cash* of that ill-judged saving may cost to the Company a crore of rupees. Besides which, I still more sincerely lament the disgraceful sacrifice which you made, by that delay, of the honour of your country, by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, which we were bound by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith to defend."—Malcolm, i. 73. Wilks, iii. 61.

The necessity, however, of defending his own dominions, soon recalled him from his prey; and on the 24th of May, he hurried back to his capital.

The first operations of the British against Mysore, were baffled by the activity of the Sultan, who, taking advantage of the separation of the invading army into three divisions, attacked them in detail, broke through their chain of communications, and compelled them ultimately to abandon the plan of the campaign. For this success, he was greatly indebted to his admirable system of intelligence, which never failed him, while the English were repeatedly at fault. The war was transferred from Mysore to the Carnatic; but, in the mean time, the whole of Malabar was wrested from Tippoo by another British division, and that province was placed in possession of the Company.*

In February 1791, Cornwallis, in person, putting himself at the head of the army, entered Mysore by the pass of Mooglee, and reached Bangalore with little opposition, on the 5th of March. On the 7th, the *pettah*, or town, was stormed; and a strong exertion made by the Sultan for its recovery, was repulsed. On the night of the 21st, the citadel was carried by assault. "The fate of the campaign," says Col. Wilks, "and perhaps of the war, was necessarily cast upon a single chance, and that chance was successful." The evil consequences of a failure, it is difficult to estimate. "The forage and grain found in the *Pettah*, had long been consumed; the neighbouring villages had all been

* See for details, Wilks, iii. chap. 35, 36. "For the facts of this campaign," remarks Mr. Mill, "Colonel Wilks is undoubted authority; but, for opinions, his partialities deserve to be watched." See also for a luminous abstract, Mill, v. 289—297. The plan of operations resembled in its principal features, that of Col. Fullarton in 1783, 4, which had so nearly succeeded, when the result was frustrated by the fatuity of the Madras Government.

effectually destroyed; and the resource of digging for the roots of grass within the limits of the piquets, had been so exhausted, that scarcely a fibre remained. The draught and carriage cattle were daily dying by hundreds, at their piquets; and those intended for food scarcely furnished the unwholesome means of satisfying hunger. Grain and every other necessary, including ammunition, were at the lowest ebb; and the most favourable result of raising the siege, under such circumstances, would have been, the loss of the whole battering train, and a retreat upon the *depôts* of Coromandel, pressed by all the energy with which such an event would have inspired the Sultan's army." *

"On the 28th, Lord Cornwallis was able to move from Bangalore, and proceeded in a northern direction, the cattle reduced to skeletons, and scarcely able to move their own weight. The intention of this movement was, to effect a junction with the corps of cavalry destined for him by the Nizam, his ally. The English and the Sultan crossed each other on the march, when the Sultan declined a rencounter. The forts of Deonhully and Little Balipoor surrendered to Cornwallis, without opposition, as he passed; and he was joined by the polygars, who paid dearly afterwards to the Sultan for their defection. Intelligence again failed the English army. After a march of about seventy miles, notwithstanding, in their situation, the unspeakable importance of time, they came to a stand, not knowing what to do; and halted for five days. False information at last induced the General, in despair of meeting the Nizam's cavalry, to terminate his movement in that direction, and proceed southward, to meet a convoy advancing by the pass of

* Wilks, iii. 130.

Amboor. After marching a day in this retrograde direction, he received fresh information, which induced him to trace back his steps; and in two days more, he was met by his ally. The force of this ally was nominally 15,000, in reality 10,000 well mounted horsemen, who were expected to render good service in performing the duties of light troops, and extending the command of the army over the resources of the country. The hope of any assistance from them, was almost immediately found to be perfectly groundless. They soon shewed themselves unequal to the protection of their own foragers on ordinary occasions; and, after the lapse of a few days from leaving Bangalore, they never stirred beyond the English piquets, consuming forage and grain, and augmenting distress of every kind, without the slightest return of even apparent utility." *

Preparations were now made at Bangalore for the siege of Seringapatam; and on the 13th of May, the English army reached Arikeram, about nine miles from the capital, where Tippoo, who had taken up a strong position about six miles in their front, was brought to action, and defeated.† The precipitation

* Mill, v. 320, 1.

† Tippoo evinced his apprehensions for the safety of his capital, by giving orders carefully to obliterate from the walls of the houses, the caricatures ridiculing the English, with which they had been ornamented; and by the savage precaution of despatching twenty English boys educated as singers and dancers, and other prisoners, whom he had detained in direct violation of the treaty of 1784. Mr. Mill is incredulous of these alleged cruelties. Col. Wilks says: "The English army had afterwards direct evidence, even to exhumation, of murders so committed, on persons who carried with them the anxious sympathy of the inhabitants. The order was extended to native state prisoners; and the horrible butcheries of this period exemplified, in the most impressive manner, the

of Lord Cornwallis, however, in pushing forward with imperfect equipments and deficient supplies, in spite of incessant rains, and with constantly defective intelligence, had again nearly led to the destruction of the army. Scanty and unwholesome food had filled the camp with disease; and in addition to other horrors, the small-pox raged with uncommon violence. After all the fatigue and misery, the loss of life, and the enormous expense which had been thus improvidently incurred, it was discovered, that not a single operation could be attempted, that the battering train and heavy equipments must be destroyed, and a retreat commenced without loss of time, to save the remainder of the army. Orders were sent at the same time to General Abercromby, who was advancing from the west, to return to Malabar; and a similar destruction of the heavy guns and equipments became necessary.

Scarcely had the eastern army commenced its melancholy return, than it found itself unexpectedly joined by the Mahrattas under two of the Poonah chiefs, Hurry Punt and Purseram Bhow; bringing provisions and draught cattle. No suspicion had been entertained of the existence of a Mahratta army within one hundred and fifty miles, although every customary means had been employed of transmitting to the English, distinct intelligence of each successive step in their advance; so completely had Tippoo's light troops succeeded in cutting off all communication. The Mahrattas had ostensibly taken the field at the same period as the English, and had been joined, in June 1790, by

natural connexion between cruelty and fear." Wilks, iii. 141. The testimony of one of the few English prisoners who made their escape, leaves no room to doubt the fact. See "The Captivity of James Scurry, written by Himself." 12mo. London, 1824.

a detachment from Bombay, under Captain Little. Their first object was, to recover the Punjaub of the Krishna, of which Darwar was deemed the capital. The siege of this place, before which they did not arrive till September, detained them, through the unskilfulness of Mahratta tactics, till the beginning of April, by which time intelligence of the fall of Bangalore had reached the *kelledar*. The surrender of Darwar was followed by the easy conquest of every thing north of the Toombuddra.

The tardy arrival of the Mahrattas may certainly be regarded as the cause of the disasters sustained by the British army, although it has been said, that no dependence ought to have been placed upon their punctuality. Had Lord Cornwallis possessed, even a few days before, accurate information of their approach, the circumstances of the campaign would have assumed a different character. The relief of hunger was now the most urgent want in the English army, in which scarcely an individual had, during the preceding fortnight, partaken of a wholesome meal; and "the inimitable mercantile police of a Mahratta chief in his own camp, was never more skilfully exhibited than on this occasion, in holding up exorbitant prices, until the resources of individuals were exhausted, and gradually adapting the supply to the simple capacity of payment. The bazar of a Mahratta camp," continues Colonel Wilks, "presented a spectacle of no ordinary character, and to their famished visiters, exhibited a picture of the spoils of the East, and the industry of the West. From a web of English broad-cloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the second-hand garment of a Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver ear-ring of a poor plundered village maiden; from oxen, sheep, and poultry,

to the dried salt fish of Concan; almost every thing was seen that could be presented by the best bazars of the richest towns. But, above all, the tables of the money-changers, overspread with the coins of every country of the East, in the open air and public street of the camp, gave evidence of an extent of mercantile activity, utterly inconceivable in any camp, excepting that of systematic plunderers by wholesale and retail. Every variety of trade appeared to be exercised with a large competition and considerable diligence; and among them one apparently the least adapted to a wandering life—the trade of tanner, was practised with eminent success. A circular hole dug in the earth, a raw hide adapted to it at the bottom and sides, and secured above with a series of skewers run through its edges into the earth, formed the tan-pit. On marching days, the tan-pit with its contents, in the shape of a bag, formed one side of a load for a horse or a bullock; and the liquid preparation was either emptied or preserved, according to the length or expected repetition of the march. The best tanning material is equally accessible and portable; and the English officers obtained from these ambulatory tan-pits, what their own Indian capitals could not then produce, except as European imports,—excellent sword-belts."*

Now that the Mahrattas had arrived, they were unable to keep the field, (so at least their leaders professed,) without receiving from the English pecuniary support; and Lord Cornwallis agreed to advance them a loan of twelve laks of rupees. In order to obtain the money, he had recourse to the bold expedient of writing to the Madras Government, to take

* Wilks, iii. 158, 9.

the dollars out of the China ships, and coining them into rupees, to send them to him with all possible despatch. The loss of the battering train, the return of General Abercromby, and the state of the season forbidding the siege of Seringapatam, the combined army proceeded, on the 6th of June, to fall back on Bangalore. In their way, the hill-fort of Hooliordroog, "too strong to have been taken, had the courage of the garrison allowed them to defend it," surrendered to a detachment of the English army, and was dismantled. It was now necessary that the allied armies should separate during the inactive season. The Bhow, with the detachment of Captain Little, shaped his course towards Sera, and the Hyderabad cavalry went to join the Nizam's army; Hyder Punt alone remained with the English, who proceeded towards the south-east for the purpose of opening a communication, by the Policade pass, with the Carnatic. Tippoo's garrison evacuated Oossoor at their approach; Rayacottah, another strong fort, surrendered, "although so strong and complete, that it ought to have yielded only to famine and a tedious blockade;" and the rest of the forts by which the pass was defended, either obeyed the summons, or made but a feeble resistance. By this newly-opened route, a convoy reached the camp from Madras, such as had never joined a British army on Indian ground. It consisted of 100 elephants, loaded with treasure, marching two a-breast, with the British standard displayed; 6000 bullocks with rice; 100 carts with arrack; and several hundreds of coolies with other supplies. Such was the result of the new system of agency adopted by Lord Cornwallis to supply the wants of the army.*

* Nearly 40,000 bullocks had been lost in the last campaign. In order to obtain a regular supply of grain, his Lordship had adopted

While the army remained at Oossoor, a *vakeel* from Tippoo arrived with offers to negotiate; but, being commissioned to treat only with principals, and Lord Cornwallis declining to treat with an agent, the messenger was sent back without being permitted to enter the camp. The remaining operations of the campaign consisted of the reduction of the formidable hill-forts of Nundydroog, Savendroog, and Ootradroog, with some posts of inferior importance. The first of these, situated between Bangalore and Goorumconda, is built on the summit of a granite rock about 1700 feet in height, absolutely inaccessible on three of its faces; and the only part which can be ascended, was defended by two excellent walls, and by an outwork which covered the gateway, and yielded a flank fire. "A road was cut, and the guns were dragged, with infinite difficulty, to the top of an adjacent hill; but there, after a battery was erected, the guns were found to be too distant even to take off the defences of the fort. No alternative remained, but to work up the face of the principal hill. The exertions demanded were excessive. Without the strength and sagacity of

the expedient of availing himself of the extensive resources of the *Brinjárries*, native corn-merchants, who form a distinct caste, called in the South, *Lumbánees*. "They traverse the country, conveying the grain, often from the greatest distances, in large bodies, which resemble the march of an army. They encamp with regularity, never lodging in houses; are strongly armed; and ready to fight no contemptible battle in their own defence. The practice comes down from a remote antiquity, and marks that unsettled and barbarous state of society when merchants are obliged to depend upon themselves for the means of their defence. The experienced utility of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are regarded as neutral in all wars; they enjoy a right of transit through all countries; and the armies which spare nothing else, act under a species of obligation, seldom violated, of respecting the property of the Brinjarries."—Mill, v. 332. Wilks, iii. 206.

the elephants, the steepness of the ascent would have rendered it impossible to carry up the guns. Fortunately, the shot of the fort, from a height so nearly perpendicular, seldom took effect; but the men were severely galled by the *jinjal*, a species of wall-pieces, which threw with precision, to a great distance, a ball of considerable size. Batteries were erected after a labour of fourteen days; and, in a short time, two breaches were effected." As the governor still refused to surrender, it was determined to storm. At midnight, the orders were given for the assault. The fort was instantly illuminated with blue lights; a heavy, but ill-directed fire was opened; and large masses of granite were rolled down the precipice with tremendous effect; but the ardour and rapidity of the assailants surmounted every obstacle. Both of the breaches were quickly mounted, and the storming party pressed the fugitives so closely, that time was not allowed for effectually barricading the gate of the inner rampart. It was forced after a sharp conflict; and the place was carried, with the loss, in the assault, of only two men killed and twenty-eight wounded, chiefly by the stones tumbled down the rock. The whole loss, during the siege, was 120 killed and wounded.*

Savendroog, situated in the midst of the wooded hills which extend from the vicinity of Bangalore to the river Madoor, had been previously reconnoitred, and passed by as impregnable. It was deemed the strongest place in Mysore; and the discouragement was increased by the reputed insalubrity of the woods

* Wilks, iii. 191. Mill, v. 339. A subsequent attack upon Kistnagherry, another of these stupendous hill-forts, was unsuccessful, owing to the execution made by the stones rolled down by the besieged.

and impenetrable thickets with which it is surrounded. * The enormous mass of granite upon which the fortifications had been constructed, is considerably more elevated than Nundydroog, and rises from a base at least eight miles in circumference: it is every where apparently inaccessible from below; and, at the height of about two thirds of its total elevation, is separated by a chasm into two distinct citadels, each abundantly supplied with water, and thereby doubling the labour of reduction. The first labour was immense; that of cutting a gun-road through the strong jungle, and dragging twenty-four-pounders over the intervening rocks and hills. Fortunately, the garrison, confident in the strength of the place, regarded with supineness the approach of the besiegers; and they were allowed to erect their batteries without any further opposition than the fire from the fort. Within three days after the opening of the batteries, a practicable breach was effected in what was called the lower wall of the rock, although at least 1500 feet from its base. The jungle was now of advantage; for, as it grew close up to the very wall, it enabled the troops to scramble up unseen, by the crevices and rugged parts of the rock, and effect a lodgement within twenty yards of the breach. The 21st of December was the day chosen for the assault; and Lord Cornwallis and General Medows arrived from the camp, (distant seven miles,) to witness the terrific scene. "At an hour before noon, on a signal of two guns from the batteries, the flank companies

* The name of this fortress, not less remarkable for its noxious atmosphere than for its strength, signifies *the rock of death*. The Sultan congratulated his army upon hearing that the English army had undertaken the siege; at which, he said, one half would be destroyed by sickness, and the other by the sword.

advanced to the breach, and mounted, while the band of the 52d regiment played *Britons strike home*. The enemy, who had descended for the defence of the breach, when they beheld the Europeans advancing, were seized with a panic;* and Captain Gage had little difficulty in gaining the eastern top. The danger was, lest the flying enemy should gain the western summit, which, from the steepness of the approach and the strength of the works, might require a repetition of the siege. To provide against this contingency, Captain Monson had directions, if he thought advancing imprudent, to effect a lodgement in some part of the hill, from which the operations might be carried on. Fortunately, the enemy impeded one another in the steep and narrow path up which they crowded to the citadel; while some shot which opportunely fell among them from the batteries, increased their confusion. Captain Monson pressed after the fugitives; and so critical was the moment, that the serjeant of the 71st regiment shot, at a distance, the man who was closing the first of the gates. All the other barriers, the English entered along with the enemy, about 100 of whom were killed on the western hill; and several fell down the precipices in endeavouring to escape. The prisoners taken were few."† "Every thing was carried within one hour from the commencement of the assault; and an enter-

* The assailants, Colonel Wilks says, actually clambered up a precipice which, after the service was over, they were afraid to descend.

† Mill, v. 343, 4. The *kelledar* was observed to fall, by the troops who had gained the eastern rock, just as he approached the gate of the citadel; and they had the additional satisfaction of descrying a heavy column of Mysorean infantry, destined to re-inforce the garrison, in full march to enter the place, which would have been effected, had the assault been postponed even for half an hour.

prise, which had been contemplated by Lord Cornwallis as the most doubtful operation of the war, was thus effected in twelve days from the first arrival of the troops, and five of open batteries, including the day of the assault; with a moderate amount of casualties in the previous operations, and, in the assault itself, without the loss of a single life."*

Ootradroog, a fortress of a similar description, about twelve miles from Savendroog, was, in like manner, carried by escalade without the loss of a man. Though many parts of the ascent were so narrow and steep, that a few resolute men might have defended themselves against any attack, so great was the alarm of the enemy, that they fled wherever they saw a single European above the walls. The *kelledar*, who was taken prisoner, reported that his garrison had mutinied, and that 400 had deserted during the night. The forts of Ramgherry and Sevengherry, on the central road, surrendered to another detachment, without much resistance; and Hooliordroog, which had been repaired and re-occupied by the enemy, was retaken and held as a post of communication.

During these proceedings, the operations of Tippoo were feeble; and the recovery of Coimbetoor by one of his generals, with some advantages gained over the Mahrattas of Purseram Bhow, were the most important of his successes.

At length, being rejoined by the Hyderabad and Poonah armies, on the 1st of February, Lord Cornwallis began his march for Seringapatam; and on the 5th, the English took up their ground across the

* Wilks, iii. 203. Mr. Mill's account says, only one private was slightly wounded.

valley of Milgotah, at the distance of about six miles from the Sultan's encampment under the walls of the capital.

"Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Cavery, which, after separating to a distance of a mile and a half, again unite about four miles below the place of their separation.* Around Seringapatam ran the usual hedge, called the bound hedge, composed of the bamboos and other strong and prickly shrubs of the country, forming a rampart of considerable strength. On the northern side, that on which the confederate army had taken up their ground, an oblong space of about three miles in length, and from half a mile to a mile in breadth, was enclosed between the hedge and the river. In this enclosure, Tippoo was encamped. It contained the most commanding ground on that side of the fort; and was further guarded in front, by a large tank or canal; by rice-fields, which it watered; and by the windings of a river called the Lockany, which crossed the line of the British camp, and intersected the intermediate valley by three streams, of which one fell into the Cavery near the eastern point of the island. To the natural strength of this position, was added the assistance of six large redoubts erected on commanding ground; of which, one, called the Mosque redoubt, situated at the western extremity, on an eminence somewhat advanced beyond the line of the rest, and in the corner of the bound hedge, which was here carried out to surround it, was a post of great strength, and covered the left of the encampment. The mountainous range which protected the left of the British line,

* See vol. i. p. 36.

extended close to the river at the eastern end of the island; and by a hill called the Carrighaut, the fortifications of which had been lately improved, together with the branch of the Lockany which entered the Cavery at its base, afforded strong protection to the right of the Sultan's encampment. In the western angle of the island, was situated the strong fortress of Seringapatam. The eastern part was fortified towards the river by redoubts and batteries, connected by a strong entrenchment with a deep ditch. The fort and island, therefore, constituted a second line, which supported the defences of the first; and afforded a secure retreat, as from the out-works to the body of a place. Heavy cannon in the redoubts, and the field train disposed to the best advantage, to the amount of 100 pieces of artillery, defended the first line; and at least three times that number were employed in the fort and island. The Sultan's army was supposed, at a low estimation, to amount to 5000 cavalry, and from forty to fifty thousand infantry. He commanded the centre and right of his line in person, and had his tent pitched near the most easterly of the six redoubts, which, from that circumstance, was called the Sultan's redoubt.

"Tippoo, having abandoned the design of keeping the field against so powerful a combination of foes, had directed his attention to the fortification of this position, and the improvement of his defences in the island and fort. His plan of defence was founded on the hope of being able to protract the siege, till the want of supplies in a country already exhausted, or at any rate the recurrence of the monsoon, should compel his enemies to retreat. He was, probably, the more confirmed in the anticipation of this result, because it was the same expedient by

which his father had baffled the potent combination by which he was attacked in 1767.

" The British troops had just been dismissed from the parade, at six o'clock on the evening of the 6th, when they were directed to fall in again with their arms and ammunition. Every thing was in its proper place at half an hour after eight o'clock, when the order was given to march. The evening was calm and serene ; the moon shone bright ; and the troops advanced in silence. The security of the northern supplies, and the difficulty of crossing the river with all the stores and heavy artillery, pointed out the necessity of dislodging the enemy. But his position, every where protected by the guns of the fort or the batteries of the island, was so strong, that, in an open attack in day-light, the event was doubtful ; the loss of a great number of the best soldiers was unavoidable. The night was therefore chosen, and an early night for the greater certainty of surprise. As guns could be of little service in the dark, and the state of the ground made it difficult to convey them, it was resolved that none should be employed.

" According to the plan of attack, the centre column, under the commander-in-chief, was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, while the columns on the right and left were to take possession of the forts which defended the enemy's flanks ; and the front divisions of all the three columns, after carrying what was immediately opposed to them, were to cross with the fugitives, and endeavour to get possession of the batteries on the island. So early an attack, before the junction of the Bombay army, and during the darkness of the night, was probably unexpected by Tippoo. The allies, to whom the plan of the attack was not

communicated till after the columns had marched, were in the greatest consternation. To attack, with a handful of infantry and without cannon, the whole of Tippoo's army, in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital, appeared to them an extraordinary attempt. And their surprise was increased when told, that Lord Cornwallis in person commanded the division which was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, and had gone to fight, as they expressed it, like a common soldier.

"The Sultan had just finished his evening's repast, when the alarm was given. He mounted; and before he had time to receive intelligence of the nature and quality of the attack, not only perceived by the mass of the fugitives, that the centre of the camp was entered, but discovered, by the light of the moon, an extended column passing through his camp, and pointing directly to the main ford. As this threatened his retreat, he went off with great celerity, and having barely time to cross before the English, took his station on a part of the fort best calculated for the view, and there continued, issuing his commands, till the morning. In the retreat, a great number of his troops deserted. One corps, 10,000 strong, consisting of the persons whom he had forcibly removed from Coorg, wholly disappeared, having escaped to their native woods. And a number of Europeans in his service, from which he gave no allowance to depart, seized this opportunity of making their escape.

"The day broke only to vary the features of the conflict. The most easterly of the six redoubts (the Sultan's), and the most westerly (the Mosque redoubt), were taken; but the remaining four were in possession of the enemy. The scattered parties collected themselves, and the guns of the fort which, during the

night, had been kept silent by order of the Sultan, lest they should persuade the troops in camp that the fort was attacked, and make them imitate the example of the deserters, were opened as soon as day-light fully appeared, and fired upon the assailants wherever they could be reached. The eastern ford of the two branches of the river which surround the island, Tippoo had occupied with a palace and gardens. The English took up a strong position in front of these gardens, completely across the island, where they commanded the ford to the Carighaut hill, and occupied the lines and batteries by which it was guarded. A little after day-light, a body of the enemy's infantry approached under cover of old houses and walls; but were repulsed. The Sultan's redoubt became the next point of attack. The corps which had been left in it, amounted to only about 100 Europeans and 50 Sepoys; yet did they succeed in maintaining their position against repeated assaults. A considerable force advanced, about 5 P. M., to dislodge the troops from the island; but this assault was repulsed without much difficulty, and the night passed without any alarm. The total of killed, wounded, and missing in this brilliant attack, according to the returns of the British army, was 535. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 4000 slain; but the desertions were the principal cause of his diminution of force.* During the night of the 7th, his troops were withdrawn from the redoubts on the north side of the river; and on the morning of the 8th, the remains of his army were collected; the infantry within the

* The killed, wounded, and missing, Colonel Wilks says, amounted to 23,000. Besides the *Ahmedy Chêlas* from Coorg, many of the *Assoud Ullahees* decamped; and among the European fugitives, was an old Frenchman named Blévette, who had constructed most of the redoubts.

works of the fort, the cavalry and baggage on the south side of the river towards Mysore."*

Arrangements were now made and executed for besieging the fort, which occupied the western extremity of the island, and, with its works, comprehended the space of a mile: the Sultan's new palace and gardens of *Lâll Baugh*, covered a similar extent at the eastern extremity. Previously to the war, the space between these gardens and the fort was occupied by the houses and streets of the most flourishing capital, at that time, in the dominions of any native prince in India. With the exception of the *pettah*, or suburb, which constituted the eastern extremity of the town, the rest had been all destroyed to make room for the batteries of the island, and to form an esplanade to the fort. The gardens in which the Sultan delighted, laid out in shady walks of large cypress-trees, and enriched with all the vegetable treasures of the East, were cut to pieces and destroyed, to furnish materials for the siege; while the gorgeous palace adjoining was converted into a hospital. The fort is of a triangular shape, to correspond to the ground on which it stands. The two longest sides are defended by the river, which is deep and broad: the northern face, towards the island, was covered with strong outworks and two broad and massy ramparts, having flank defences, a deep ditch, draw-bridges, and every advantage of modern fortification. Upon this side, however, it was resolved to carry on the attack; and upon the 18th, trenches were opened within 800 yards of the fort. In the mean time, General Abercromby with the Bombay army had effected a junction, having perfected a line of communication with the Malabar coast; and

* Mill, v. 360—374.

the Brinjarries maintained such abundance in the camp of Cornwallis as had not been known since the commencement of the war. The soldiers, in high spirits, prosecuted with activity the operations of the siege, stimulated by the hope of speedily "liberating with their own hands the survivors of their murdered countrymen;" and they were so far advanced as to enable Lord Cornwallis to calculate with certainty on opening his breaching batteries on the 1st of March. On the 24th of February, however, orders were received by the troops in the trenches, to forbear working, and to desist from hostilities. "The soldiers," says an officer who was present, "dejected to a degree not to be described, could with difficulty be restrained from continuing their work." And their impatience and indignation became almost uncontrollable, when, for several hours after they had ceased, the troops of Tippoo continued to fire both with cannon and musketry; "a barbarous bravado, intended to shew that he was the last to resign the contest, and that he had effected peace by the vigour of his defence." Conferences had been for some days going on without any relaxation of the military operations on either side;*

* On the 12th of January, the Sultan had renewed his attempt to obtain Lord Cornwallis's reception of an envoy. "Send hither the garrison of Coimbetoor," was his Lordship's reply, "and then we will listen to what you have to say." On the 8th of February, Tippoo sent for two of the officers whom he had detained in violation of the articles of capitulation, and charged them with presents and letters to Lord Cornwallis. On the same day, Colonel Wilks states, he despatched a body of horse to make an attempt upon his Lordship's head-quarters, which had been fixed in an exposed situation. They had penetrated to the camp without discovery, being mistaken for a part of the confederate troops, and on asking for the tent of the *Burra Sahib*, were without suspicion directed to that of the officer of artillery; towards this, they galloped with drawn sabres, supposing it to be that of Lord Cornwallis;

and with difficulty had the proud mind of the Sultan been brought to submit to the humiliating terms of the preliminary treaty. The substantial conditions were; that he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies, pay three crores and thirty laks of rupees, and give up two of his sons as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. But when, in adjusting the terms of the definitive treaty, the principality of Coorg was found to be included in the English share, the Sultan became frantic with rage. During the studied procrastination that ensued, it was observed, that repairs were actively carried on within the fort; and the *vakeels* began to bluster and temporize. Tippoo had already, indeed, sent his sons and a crore of rupees to the English camp; but these pledges of sincerity had gained him an invaluable portion of time; and on the other hand, he was aware that the three weeks which had elapsed since the commencement of the armistice, had been productive of consequences seriously detrimental to the besiegers. The troops, from inaction and the insalubrity of a standing camp, had become unhealthy; a pestilent endemic began to make its appearance; and the hospitals had been for some time increasing their numbers in an alarming degree. Much of the materials for the siege, constructed of dried cypress, had perished; and the trenches were so far damaged as to require to be made anew, in case of prosecuting the siege. Besides this, it afterwards appeared, that one of the individuals intrusted with the conduct of the joint negotiation, held a *secret correspondence* with the Sultan during the whole period. The moment was critical; and Lord Cornwallis did

but the alarm was given, and they made their escape. After the release of the prisoners taken at Coimbetoor, Tippoo's *vakeels* were, on the 14th, admitted to treat.

not hesitate as to his line of action. The hostages were moved in the direction of the Carnatic; the guns were ordered into the batteries, and every other preparation was made for renewing the siege, when Tippoo, alarmed by this prompt proceeding, signed, on the 19th, the definitive treaty.

By the cessions now made, the boundary of the Mahrattas was again extended to the Toombuddra, their frontier in 1779. The share allotted to the Nizam, reached from the Krishna beyond the Penna, and included the forts of Gunjecotah and Cudapa, and the province of Kurpa. The British obtained Malabar and Coorg; the province of Dindigul, which had jutted inconveniently into their southern provinces; and Baramahal, forming "an iron boundary" for Coromandel.*

Lord Cornwallis, having determined not to prosecute the war to the annihilation of Tippoo's power, endeavoured to reconcile him as far as possible to his humbled condition. "It is to this desire," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "that we must attribute the restoration of Bangalore; a concession which surprised the allies. There can be no doubt that our retaining that important fortress, and the districts which connected it with the lands above the Ghauts, would have been the most complete defence against his future hostility. In a military point of view, it had much more importance than Coorg, which Lord Cornwallis determined upon keeping, not from any consequence he

* Wilks, iii. 240—250. Mill, v. 382—5. The military history of this campaign has been given with clearness and precision in Major Dirom's Narrative, 1 vol. 4to., and in Mackenzie's "Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun," 2 vols. 4to. Colonel Wilks's spirited narrative (vol. iii. c. 4) has supplied some interesting details; but Mr. Mill's masterly abstract is altogether the most satisfactory account of the war, and has been closely followed.

attached to it as a position for troops, but from regard to good faith, and from a knowledge that Tippoo wished to retain it that he might wreak his vengeance on a prince, whose greatest crime was the zeal and attachment he had displayed in favour of the English. It appears from the conferences with Tippoo's envoys during the negotiation, that his Lordship did every thing he could do, short of a sacrifice of faith and of essential interests, to conciliate the Sultan. His reception and treatment of the hostage princes was more than kind; it was parental. The whole course of his conduct on this memorable occasion, exhibited a union of good feeling, manly simplicity, and firmness, which added as much as his victories in the field to the fame of his country."*

No specific change was made, after the termination of the war, in the relations between the Company and the Nizam: his weakness made that chief desirous of maintaining the useful alliance he had formed, and the subsidiary force continued in his service. Between the English and the Mahrattas, jealousies quickly arose. The latter saw with regret the shield of the British power held up between them and the Nizam, whom they had long destined for their prey. But an additional cause of dissatisfaction was, the refusal of Lord Cornwallis to suffer the British detachment to be permanently attached to the army of the Peishwa, in the same manner and on the same terms as that in

* Malcolm, i. 80—86. By Mr. Mill, the conduct of his Lordship and the treaty are severely criticised. He remarks, that the Company had added by conquest to their territories, in violation of the declared sense and enactments of parliament; that the territorial revenues of the ceded country were not equal to the interest of the money expended in the war; and that Tippoo was still left a powerful and exasperated enemy. Mill, v. 392.

the service of the Nizam. His Lordship had reason to believe, that this subsidiary force, though asked for under the pretext that it would be employed only to enable the Peishwa to reduce to obedience any of his refractory dependents, was really desired as a weapon against Madhajee Sindia, whose growing power the Poonah ministers beheld with reasonable jealousy. While the armies were before Seringapatam, and the Sultan was yet unsubdued, Sindia had marched towards Poonah with an army, and not only alarmed Nanah Furnavese, who governed in the name of the Peishwa, but was regarded with suspicion by the English themselves. When the English, before the war, were bidding so high for alliances against Tippoo, Sindia too offered his services to sale; but he asked an exorbitant price. He required that two battalions of the British troops should join his army as an auxiliary force, to assist him in the reduction of the Rajpoot princes, and in the prosecution of his schemes of aggrandisement; terms which by no means accorded with the policy of the English. Having now established the dominion given him by the policy of Mr. Hastings, over the Mogul provinces, he employed in his own favour the remaining authority of his imperial captive. He at this time possessed a large and formidable corps of regular infantry, under European officers (mostly French); he had erected foundries and arsenals, and in short, had made the most considerable accumulation of all the instruments of war belonging to any prince in India. Sensible, however, as Lord Cornwallis was of the rapid and formidable increase of his power, he regarded all direct attempts to check his career, either as imprudent, or as contrary to the act of parliament, and unlikely to obtain the concurrence of the ruling powers at home. When, however, intel-

ligence arrived in July from Delhi, that the Emperor had signified his hope of obtaining, through the exertions of the Peishwa and Sindia, some tribute from Bengal, the British Resident at Sindia's court was instructed to make a spirited remonstrance, and to caution the Mahratta how he forced the British Government to depart from the neutral and pacific system which it had hitherto observed, by any such rash insult or unjust demand.

Of the new arrangements made by Lord Cornwallis with the Nabob of Arcot and the Vizier of Oude, it is scarcely worth while to speak, as they were merely of a financial nature, and failed to accomplish the intended results. Until the last year of his Lordship's administration, peace existed between Great Britain and France; a circumstance of vast importance in the war against Tippoo, as it had enabled him to call into operation the whole of the British force in India. In 1793, when accounts were received of the declaration of war against the French Republic, Pondicherry was once more attacked and taken, by an army from Fort St. George, under Major-General Sir John Brathwaite; and Lord Cornwallis, who had hastened from Bengal to take the direction of this service, found that the enterprise was already accomplished, by which the whole of the French settlements in India were added to the English possessions. His Lordship did not return to Calcutta, but sailed for England in August 1793. In the same year, the charter of the East India Company was renewed for a term of twenty years.*

* The judicial and fiscal reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis into the administration of the Indian Government, it does not fall within our province to notice. A rigid and acute analysis and examination of them occupies the sixth chapter of Mr. Mill's sixth book.

For the immediate successor of Lord Cornwallis, choice was made of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Shore, a civil servant of the Company. "Pacific habits and skill in revenue," qualifications by which Mr. Shore was distinguished, "were possibly," remarks Mr. Mill, "regarded as means abundantly necessary for realizing those pecuniary promises which had been so loudly and confidently made to both the parliament and the people of England." The alternation of a military and a civil supremacy, of a vigorous and aggressive, and a pacific and economical Government, has proved, however, the bane of our Indian possessions. The General was now succeeded by the Financier, and events soon gave occasion for the display of a total revolution in the policy of the British Government. The first important circumstance which solicited the attention of the new Governor-General, was the appearance of an approaching rupture between two of the late confederates; the Nizam and the Mahrattas. The dominions of the former had long been subjected to the Mahratta *chout*; and, previously to the formation of a connexion between the Hyderabad Government and Lord Cornwallis, the Mahrattas exercised so great an authority in his dominions, that the minister of the Nizam was more attentive to the wishes of the Mahrattas, than to the commands of his

His Lordship's grand measure, that of making the zemindar the proprietor of the soil, on the payment of a fixed and unalterable land-tax, had for its object, to establish a landed aristocracy in the persons of that class; but the project, Mr. Mill affirms to have completely failed. The alterations in the judicial system have given to the subjects of the British Government in India, a heterogeneous compound of English and Mohammedan law, so ingeniously contrived as to combine the leading defects of both. The financial affairs of the Company, after all the reforms and the acquisitions of territory, proved to be left in a somewhat worse state by his Lordship, than they were left by Hastings.

master. During the necessity of their joint exertions for the subjugation of Tippoo, the Mahrattas had yielded to a temporary relaxation of their influence over the country of the Nizam; but they now intended to resume it; and a long arrear of *chout* afforded the pretext for interference. The English Government offered its mediation, which the Mahrattas met with evasion; and no sooner were they convinced that the interposition of the Governor-General would certainly not be supported by arms, than they treated his proposals with insulting indifference. At the same time, Tippoo Sultan had an army in the field, and was suspected to be meditating a confederacy with the Mahrattas for the subjugation of the Nizam. To abandon their ally to his fate, in despite of the claims which the treaty of alliance gave him on the assistance of the English, at least against Tippoo, might seem, on the one hand, to have the appearance at once of weakness and infidelity. On the other hand, the Mahrattas still sustained the character of allies; and their friendship was considered as outweighing the sacrifice of the Nizam; while the act of the legislature clearly prohibited the Company's servants from interfering in the mutual quarrels of the native princes, unless to oppose an actual invasion of the British provinces.*

Before hostilities commenced between the Soubahdar and the Mahrattas, Madhajee Sindia died; but

* Sir John Malcolm, writing in the spirit of a military statesman, strongly condemns Lord Teignmouth's pacific policy, to which he was content "to sacrifice part of that high reputation and character which the conduct of his immediate predecessor had obtained for the British Government in India." Mr. Mill gives the lawyer's view of the question, involving consequences and considerations which, he thinks, Sir John overlooks.—Mill, vi. 24—28. Malcolm, i. ch. 3.

his death produced no change in the state of parties. His nephew and successor, Dowlut Row Sindia, soon assembled his army from the remotest parts of his dominions, and obtained an ascendancy at once in the Poonah councils and in the confederacy which was forming against the Nizam. Early in March, both armies took the field. The Nizam had advanced to Beder, where Dowlut Row Sindia hastened to give him battle. An indecisive action took place; but the Nizam retreated during the night, and shut himself up in the small fort of Kurdlah. Here he was blockaded by the Mahrattas; and, after remaining for some weeks in this miserable situation, he found himself compelled to conclude a peace on such terms as they were pleased to dictate. He was required to cede territories yielding a revenue of 35 laks, including the celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad; to pay three crores of rupees; and to give up as a hostage for the performance of these conditions, his able minister, and the zealous friend of the English, Azeem ul Omrah. The death of the young Peishwa, Madhoo Row, in October 1795, was a fortunate event for the Nizam, as it led to the mitigation of these hard conditions. Nanah Furnavese desired to place upon the vacant *musnud*, an infant whom he could use as a tool; and, anxious to strengthen himself by the alliance of the Nizam, he released Azeem ul Omrah, and resigned all the cessions extorted at Kurdlah. In the mean time, Bajee Row, the son of Ragoba, and the undoubted heir, was supported by the influence of Sindia, who, hastening to Poonah, with an army which his rival was unable to oppose, placed Bajee Row upon the throne. The new treaty with the minister of the Nizam was of course annulled; but a fresh one was

concluded, by which he was required to make good, only one fourth of the cessions and payments originally imposed upon him.

The intercourse with Tippoo, during the administration of Sir John Shore, was bounded by the execution of the treaty of Seringapatam. When, on its fulfilment, the sons of Tippoo were restored, (March 29, 1794,) the officer who conducted them, was empowered to make overtures towards a more amicable connexion, provided that a favourable disposition manifested itself on the part of the Sultan. But, on this occasion, Tippoo disdained to practise hypocrisy, and received the offer with frigid civility. The only other events which demand notice, are, the death of the Vizir of Oude, Asof ul Dowlah, in 1797, and the dethronement of his son, on a charge of spuriousness, in favour of Saadut Ali, his uncle; the death of the old Nabob of Arcot, Mohammed Ali, in 1795, at the age of 78; and the complete reduction, in the same year, of the Dutch settlements on Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, and the Cape of Good Hope. In the beginning of 1798, Sir John Shore, who had been raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned the Government of India, and sailed for England. He was succeeded, after some mysterious intrigues and fluctuations of counsel at home, by the Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley).*

The new Governor-General arrived at Calcutta on

* Lord Hobart had been nominated successor to Marquis Cornwallis as Governor-General; agreeably to the understanding with which he had left England; but the appointment was over-ruled. In 1797, Lord Cornwallis was nominated Governor a second time; but he was induced to decline the honour.

the 17th of May, 1798; "carrying out with him," says Mr. Mill, "a mind more than usually inflamed with the ministerial passions then burning in England, and in a state peculiarly apt to be seized both with dread and with hatred of any power that was French." He reached India, says Sir John Malcolm, "at a period of a most critical nature for British interests in that quarter of the globe. The hostile designs of Tippoo Sultaun were ripe for execution. A French party was paramount at the courts both of the Nizam and of Sindia. The court of Poonah was at the mercy of the latter chief; and that of Berar was known to be adverse to the English...The accounts which had been received of the landing of the French army in Egypt, and the immediate or remote connexion which that expedition was supposed to have with an attempt upon India, had confirmed Lord Wellesley in his belief of the necessity of either compelling Tippoo Sultaun to detach himself from the interests of France, or depriving him of the means to co-operate with that nation in any project hostile to the British Government." Referring to the pages of this accomplished officer, the panegyrist of Lord Wellesley, and to those of the philosophical civilian, for the opposite views taken of the Governor-General's aggressive policy,* we shall confine ourselves to a brief account of the great events to which it led.

* See Malcolm's Pol. His. i. 194—227. Mill, vi. 64—96. Mr. Mill argues, that the ground of alarm was wholly chimerical; that no change had taken place since the treaty of Seringapatam, to call for a violation of that treaty, in direct contempt of the act of parliament; that, after the destruction of the French fleet by Lord Nelson in Aboukir Bay, it was impossible that Tippoo could have aid from France; that the French islands, having thrown off all connexion with the Mother Country, looked to British protection; and that before the war with Tippoo had commenced, every

Scarcely had Lord Mornington taken possession of his government, than he announced the warlike nature of his policy, by directing the immediate equipment of the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; and he expressed his disappointment at finding, that the assembling of a force equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, would require much longer time than he had apprehended. It was his Lordship's original intention, to attack the Sultan instantly, on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating, or rather of anticipating his hostile preparations. In the policy of this measure, the Madras Government by no means concurred; and at a public meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, held July 24, 1798, the Advocate-General earnestly deprecated the renewal of the war. Not discouraged by their opposition, the Governor-General insisted on the immediate execution of his orders. During the interval of preparation, overtures were made to the court of Hyderabad, for a closer alliance with the British Government; and on the 1st of Sept., a new treaty was concluded, by which the subsidiary detachment of British troops in the service of the Nizam, was increased from two to six battalions, on condition of his dissolving the French corps which had been raised by M. Raymond, and surrendering the officers as prisoners of war. As the Nizam shewed some hesitation in fulfilling these terms, the French cantonments were suddenly surrounded by the whole of the British force, with a body of the Hyderabad cavalry; and in a few hours, a corps of 14,000 men,

reason by which its necessity had been plausibly supported, had, through a change of circumstances, lost its force,; that, finally, the real ground of war, though fervently disclaimed, was the love of conquest.

who had in their possession a train of artillery and an arsenal well supplied, were completely disarmed, and their officers arrested as prisoners. The negotiations simultaneously set on foot with the court of Poonah, were not equally successful; they led, in fact, to no decisive results.

On the 8th of November, the Governor-General, having placed his armies in a posture for action, and accomplished these essential measures of precautionary policy, felt himself prepared to make his first communication to the Sultan, in which the expressions were conciliatory, rather than hostile. After expostulating with him on the connexion which he had recently formed with the inveterate enemies of the Company and the British nation, his Lordship stated his intention to send an envoy, Major Doveton, to communicate to him the plan which, in the opinion of the British Government and its allies, was adapted to remove all existing distrust and suspicion, and to establish peace and good understanding on the most solid foundations. The terms contemplated were, the establishment of permanent Residents, on the part of the Company and their allies, at Seringapatam, the dismission of all the French then in the Sultan's service, and the perpetual exclusion of the French from his armies and dominions. For the purpose of accelerating measures, whether of a pacific or a hostile description, his Lordship deemed it expedient to be near the scene of action; and in a second letter, dated Dec. 10, he acquainted the Sultan with his intention of repairing to Madras. On his arrival at that Presidency, on the 31st, he found a letter awaiting him from Tippoo, disclaiming all hostile intention, and appealing to the existing treaty as affording the most proper adjustment of the rights and

interests of the contracting parties.* In replying to this evasive and deceptive letter, (so it was regarded,) the Governor-General explicitly declared, that a new arrangement had become indispensably necessary, in consequence of the new engagements into which Tippoo was affirmed to have entered with the enemies of the allies; and he recommended, that only one day should be taken to reply to his letter. No reply, however, was received till the 13th of February, nearly a month after the letter had reached the Sultan; and this merely gave a cold and ungracious consent to receive the envoy about whose coming his Lordship's "friendly pen" had repeatedly written, if "slightly attended." The tardiness of the reply had been considered as a rejection of the proposal for an amicable negotiation, and the delay was ascribed to a design to procrastinate till the favourable season for the attack of his capital should be past. Under such impressions, (which were greatly strengthened by Tippoo's deputing at this period another embassy to the Isle of France,) the British army under General Harris, and that of the Nizam under Meer Allum, had already

* "The proposition of sending to him a deputy, and opening a negotiation, appeared to him," says Mr. Mill, "to imply that new sacrifices were to be exacted of him." Col. Wilks says, that Tippoo had sagacity enough to conjecture rightly, that the means alluded to by the Governor-General could be no other than depriving him of his remaining sea-coast in Canara, "thereby excluding him from communicating with the French, and from the only possible chance of retrieving his affairs: If his destruction was preordained, let it come! (he said;) the sooner the better!" Wilks, iii. 374. This Writer adds, (p. 379,) that "it is believed by those who had the best opportunities of judging, that the confident assurances of the French officers, were the efficient cause of diverting the Sultan's mind from the only wise resolution it was in his power to form (after receiving Lord Wellesley's letter of Jan. 9), and produced his ultimate destruction."

been directed to advance against his dominions; and his letter was answered, by referring him to General Harris as the medium of all future communications.

The army which had assembled at Velore, exceeded 20,000 men, including 2,635 cavalry and 4,380 Europeans. It was joined, before the commencement of its march, by the whole of the British detachment serving with the Nizam, 6,500 strong; together with an equal number of the Nizam's infantry, and a large body of cavalry. The army of the western coast, assembled at Cananore under General Stuart, amounted to 6,420 men, of whom 1,617 were Europeans. All this force, together with another detachment from the southern districts, was directed against the sovereign of Mysore, who, six years before, had been stripped of one-half of his dominions. On the 5th of March, General Harris entered the Mysore territory; and his orders were, to march directly upon the capital, without regard to the communication behind, and by a single blow to terminate the contest. The British army was, however, overloaded with equipments; it carried an enormous train of battering cannon; and a prodigious mass of vehicles were required for the transportation of the provisions and stores. To all this was added the cumbrous baggage of the Nizam's army, a host of Brinjarries, and the innumerable camp-followers. No sufficient measures had been prepared for the orderly movement of this vast, unwieldy machine. So great was the confusion, that the army was compelled repeatedly to halt, and to destroy a part of the mass of stores with which they were incumbered: the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores was carried so far as to excite, at length, some degree of alarm. Nearly the whole of the draught

and carriage bullocks died in the march*, although it was scarcely retarded a day by the efforts of the enemy.

In the mean time, General Stuart had crossed the western frontier, and on the 6th of March, had been attacked, near Periapatam, by the Sultan with a superior force. After a brisk action, Tippoo drew off his army, and, afraid to strike a second blow, returned to Seringapatam, whence he hastened to meet the army approaching from the east. At Malvilly, a rencounter took place, in which the loss of the English was computed at sixty-nine men; that of the Sultan at above a thousand. After this, the English army, by taking a route unexpected on the part of Tippoo, advanced without opposition, and on the 5th of April, took up its ground for the siege of the capital.† On the 14th, the Bombay army effected its junction. On the 18th, the alarming discovery was made, that eighteen days' provision for the fighting men, at half allowance, was all that remained in the camp, and that, consequently, supplies must arrive before the expiration of that time, if the capital should not have fallen, to save the army from extreme distress. Operations were now prosecuted with the utmost vigour. A breaching battery was erected on the night of the 28th; a second was opened on the 2d of May; and on the 3d, the breach appeared to be practicable. Two letters had been received from the Sultan on the 9th and the 20th; the first demanding the reason of the advance of the

* Upwards of 60,000 oxen, chiefly untrained, were employed in the regular branches of the Commissariat.—Wilks, iii. 406.

† "Exactly one month after it passed the enemy's frontier, having advanced at the rate of not seven miles a day on the enemy's ground, and not five miles a day from the commencement of its march."—Mill, vi. 107.

English armies, the second proposing a conference. To the latter, General Harris replied by a letter stating that security, not conquest, was the object of the British Government, and transmitting the draught of a preliminary treaty, to which the Sultan's assent was required within twenty-four hours. On the 28th, a third letter arrived from the Sultan, renewing his proposals for a conference; but he was told, that no ambassadors would be received, unless they were accompanied by four of his sons and four of his generals as hostages, and a crore of rupees, as already demanded.

From the time that General Harris sat down before the Fort, the Sultan had remained on the ramparts, varying his position according to the incidents of the siege. The angle of the fort on which the attack had been made, was of such a nature, that a retrenchment to cut it off might have been easily effected; and this was counselled by the most judicious of the Mysorean officers. But the mind of the Sultan, which was always defective in judgment, appears to have been prematurely weakened by the difficulties of his situation. After receiving the reply to his last letter, "mixed indications of grief, rather than rage, finally subsided into a silent stupor, from which he seldom seemed to wake, except for the purpose of affecting a confidence by which no one was deceived, that the capital could not be taken." Despairing at last of human aid, the religion which he revered, as well as that which he had cruelly persecuted, were equally had recourse to, as the means of calling down supernatural assistance. While the Moollahs were commanded to offer up prayers in the mosque, the *jebbum* was put in progress by the Brahmins; and the favour of the high priest at Cenapatam was propitiated by costly offerings. The vain science of every sect was

put in requisition, to examine the influence of the planets, and to interpret their imaginary decision. "Either from chance or from right judgement respecting objects more real than those of their pretended science, the astrologers had exhibited to the Sultan a set of diagrams, from which they gravely inferred, that as long as Mars should remain within a particular circle, the fort would hold out; that he would touch the limit on the last day of the lunar month, the 4th of May; and on that day, they dared only to recommend that the Sultan should present the prescribed oblations for averting a calamity." On the fatal morning, the Sultan, in pursuance of these directions, proceeded to the palace, bathed, and presented the oblation; he, moreover, attempted to ascertain the aspect of his fortunes by the form of his face reflected from the surface of a jar of oil, which constituted a part of the oblation; and having finished these ceremonies about noon, he was about to begin his mid-day repast, under a small tent at his usual station, when intelligence was brought him of the death of Seyed Goffhâr, his ablest officer. Tippoo was greatly agitated, but gave the proper orders in consequence, and sat down to his repast. Before he had finished, a report was brought to him, that the assault had actually commenced. He instantly ordered the troops which were about him to stand to their arms, commanded the carbines to be loaded, which the attendants carried for his own use, and hastened along the northern rampart to the breach.

The English troops destined for the service had been placed in the trenches before day-light, that no extraordinary movement might serve to put the enemy on their guard; but the hour of one had been fixed on for the assault, as that at which, from the known

habits of the natives, who were then accustomed to give themselves up to a season of repose, they would be the least prepared for resistance. "The state of silent and awful expectation in the trenches throughout the army, as the hour approached, may be more easily imagined," says Colonel Wilks, "than described. The distinguished officer appointed to lead the assault," Major-General Baird, who had solicited the dangerous service, "beheld those walls within which he had himself been immured in irons during a tedious imprisonment of nearly four years; and the prospect of avenging the wrongs which he had witnessed and partaken, roused him to the highest pitch of animation," which he seems to have communicated to his men. "A small but gallant band of Mysoreans met the forlorn hope on the slope of the breach; the greater portion of both fell in the struggle; but, in less than seven minutes from the period of issuing from the trenches, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach.

"It had been regulated, that, as soon as the assailants surmounted the rampart, one half of them should wheel to the right, the other to the left, and that they should meet over the eastern gateway. The right, which was led by General Baird, met with little resistance; both as the enemy, lest retreat should be cut off, abandoned the cavaliers, and as the inner rampart of the south-western face was exposed to a perfect enfilade. The assailants on the left were opposed in a different manner. Lieut.-Col. Dunlop, by whom it was commanded, received a wound in the ascent; and the Sultan passed the nearest traverse, as the column quitted the breach. A succession of well-constructed traverses were most vigorously defended; and a flanking fire of musketry from the inner ram-

part did great execution upon the assailants. All the commissioned officers attached to the leading companies, were soon either killed or disabled; and the loss would, at any rate, have been great, had not a very critical assistance been received. When the assailants first surmounted the breach, they were not a little surprised by the sight of a deep and, to appearance, impassable ditch between the exterior and interior lines of defence. A detachment of the 12th regiment, having discovered a narrow strip of the terreplein, left for the passage of the workmen, got up the inner rampart of the enfiladed face, without much opposition, and, wheeling to the left, drove before them the musketeers who were galling the assailants of the left attack; and they at last reached the flank of the traverse, which was defended by the Sultan. The two columns of the English, on the outer and inner rampart, then moved in a position to expose the successive traverses to a front and flank fire at the same time; and forced the enemy from one to another, till they perceived the British of the right attack, over the eastern gate, and ready to fall upon them in the rear; when they broke, and hastened to escape. The Sultan continued on foot during the greater part of this time, performing the part of a common soldier, rather than of a General, firing several times upon the assailants with his own hands. But a little before the time at which his troops resigned the contest, he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a severe wound when young, and ordered a horse.—When abandoned by his men, instead of seeking to make his escape, which the proximity of the water-gate would have rendered easy, he made his way toward the gate into the interior fort. As he was crossing

to the gate by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musket-ball in the right side nearly as high as the breast, but still pressed on, till he arrived at the gate. Fugitives, from within as well as from without, were crowding in opposite directions to this gate; and the detachment of the 12th had descended into the body of the place, for the purpose of arresting the influx of the fugitives from the outer-works. The two columns of the assailants, one without the gate and one within, were now pouring into it a destructive fire from both sides, when the Sultan arrived. Endeavouring to pass, he received another wound from the fire of the inner detachment; his horse also, being wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground, while his friends dropped rapidly around him. His attendants placed him in his palankeen; but the place was already so crowded and choked up with the dead and the dying, that he could not be removed. According to the statement of a servant who survived, some English soldiers, a few minutes afterwards, entered the gate-way; and one of them offering to pull off the sword-belt of the Sultan, which was very rich, Tippoo, who still held his sabre in his hand, made a cut at him with all his remaining strength. The man, wounded in the knee, put his firelock to his shoulder; and the Sultan, receiving the ball in his temple, expired.

"The two bodies of assailants, from the right and the left, had met over the eastern gateway; and the palace was the only place within the fort not now in their possession. In this, the faithful adherents of Tippoo, whose fate was yet unknown, were expected to make a desperate stand in defence of their sovereign and his family. The troops, exhausted by the heat and the toils of the day, stood in need of refresh-

ment. In the mean time, Major Allan was sent with a guard to inform the persons within the palace, that, if they surrendered immediately, their lives should be secured; that any resistance, on the other hand, would be fatal to them all. When that officer arrived at the palace, before which a part of the British troops were already drawn up, he observed several persons in the balcony, apparently in the greatest consternation. Upon communicating his message, the Kelledar, another officer of distinction, and a confidential servant, came over the terrace of the front building, and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. They exhibited great embarrassment and a disposition to delay; upon which the British officer reminded them of their danger, and, pledging himself for the protection of the inmates of the palace, desired admittance, that he might give the same assurance to the Sultan himself. They manifested strong aversion to this proposition; but the Major insisted upon returning with them; and desiring two other officers to join him, they ascended by the broken wall, and lowered themselves down on a terrace, on which there was a number of armed men. The Major, carrying a white flag in his hand, which he had formed, on the spur of the occasion, by fastening a cloth to a serjeant's pike, assured them it was a pledge of security, provided no resistance was attempted; and, as an additional proof of his sincerity, took off his sword, which he insisted upon placing in the hands of the Kelledar. All affirmed, that the family of the Sultan was in the palace, but not the Sultan himself. Their agitation and indecision were conspicuous. The Major was obliged to remind them, that the fury of the troops, by whom they were now surrounded, was with difficulty restrained; and that the consequences of delay

would be fatal. The rapid movements of several persons within the palace, where many hundreds of Tippoo's troops still remained, made him begin to think the situation critical even of himself and his companions, by whom he was advised to take back his sword. As any suspicion, however, of treachery, reaching, in their present state, the minds of the British soldiers, would inflame them to the most desperate acts, probably the massacre of every human being within the palace walls, he had the gallantry as well as presence of mind to abstain from such an exhibition of distrust. In the mean time, he was entreated by the people on the terrace to hold the flag in a conspicuous manner, as well to give confidence to the people within the palace, as to prevent the British troops from forcing the gates. Growing impatient of delay, the Major sent another message to the princes. They now sent him word, that he would be received as soon as a carpet for the purpose could be procured; and in a few minutes, the Kelledar returned to conduct him.

"He found two of the princes seated on the carpet, surrounded by attendants." (One of them was recognized as one of the hostages of 1792.) "Major Allan endeavoured, by every mark of tenderness, and by the strongest assurances of protection and respect, to tranquillize their minds. His first object was, to discover where the Sultan was concealed. He next requested their assent to the opening of the gates. At this proposition they were alarmed. Without the authority of their father, whom they desired to consult, they were afraid to take upon themselves a decision of such unspeakable importance. The Major assured them, that he would post a guard of their own sepoys within the palace, and a guard of Europeans

without; that no person should enter but by his authority; that he would return and remain with them, until General Baird should arrive; and that their own lives, as well as that of every person in the palace, depended upon their compliance. Their confidence was gained. Upon opening the gate, Major Allan found General Baird and several officers with a large body of troops assembled. It was not safe to admit the troops, who were burning for vengeance. And Major Allan returned to conduct the princes, whose reluctance to quit the palace was not easy to be overcome, to the presence of the General.

"When the persons of the princes were secured, Tippoo was to be searched for in every corner of the palace. A party of English troops were admitted, and those of Tippoo disarmed. After proceeding through several of the apartments, the Kelledar was entreated, if he valued his own life, or that of his master, to discover where he was concealed. That officer, laying his hand upon the hilt of Major Allan's sword, protested, in the most solemn manner, that the Sultan was not in the palace; that he had been wounded during the storm; and was lying in a gateway on the northern side of the fort. He offered to conduct the inquirers, and submit to any punishment if he was found to have deceived. General Baird and the officers who accompanied him, proceeded to the spot; covered with a promiscuous and shocking heap of bodies, wounded and dead. At first, the bodies were dragged out of the gateway to be examined, it being already too dark to distinguish them where they lay. As this mode of examination, however, threatened to be very tedious, a light was procured, and Major Allan and the Kelledar went forward to the place. After some search, the Sultan's palankeen was

discovered, and under it, a person wounded, but not dead. He was afterwards ascertained to be the Rajah Khan, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants, who had attended his master during the whole of the fatal day. This person, being made acquainted with the object of the search, pointed out the spot where the Sultan had fallen. The body being brought out, and sufficiently recognized, was conveyed in a palan-keen to the palace. It was warm when first discovered; the eyes were open, the features not distorted; and Major Allan and Colonel Wellesley were, for a few moments, doubtful whether it was not alive. It had four wounds, three in the trunk and one in the temple, the ball of which, having entered a little above the right ear, had lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, the usual girdle of the East, crimson-coloured, tied round his waist; and a handsome pouch, with a belt of silk, red and green, hung across his shoulder. He had an amulet on his arm; but his ornaments, if he wore any, were gone." *

Thus terminated the short-lived dynasty founded by a daring adventurer on the ruins of the Hindoo House of Mysore. The Sultan, when he lost his empire and his life, was in his forty-seventh year. He was, in person, rather above the middle size (about five feet eight inches), had a short neck and square shoulders, and had become rather corpulent; but his limbs were slender, and his feet and hands remarkably small. His complexion was brown; his eyes were large and full, with small and arched eye-brows; his nose aquiline.†

* Mill, vi. 115—122.

† The large limbs, small eyes, aquiline nose, and fair complexion of Hyder, marked the Arabic character derived from the mother.

Altogether, there was, in the expression of his countenance, a dignity which "even the English," says Mr. Mill, "in spite of their antipathy and prejudices, felt and confessed." This appearance, Colonel Wilks says, wore off on further observation; and indeed, it must have been a superficial semblance, having no relation to his real character.

The vices of Tippoo, Mr. Mill thinks, have been exaggerated, under the influence of that "epidemic frenzy" which leads nations to ascribe the most odious qualities to the enemies they dread; and it must be admitted, that the account of his faithless and barbarous conduct towards his enemies, has inevitably led us to view his character in the worst possible light. As a domestic ruler, he may sustain, in some respects, an advantageous comparison with some of the greatest of the Oriental princes; although much of the praise bestowed upon his government, is due rather to the more vigorous administration of his predecessor. "Whether," remarks Major Dirom, "from the operation of the system established by Hyder, from the principles which Tippoo had adopted for his own conduct, or from his dominions having suffered little by invasion for many years, or from the effect of these several causes united, his country was found full of inhabitants, and apparently cultivated to the utmost extent of which the soil was capable; while the discipline and fidelity of his troops in the field, until their last overthrow, were testimonies equally strong, of the excellent regulations which existed in his army. His government, though strict and arbitrary, was the despotism of a politic and able sovereign, who nourishes,

Tippoo's singularly small and delicate hands and feet, his large and full eyes, nose less prominent, and much darker complexion, were all national characteristics of the Indian form."—Wilks, iii. 459.

not oppresses, the subjects who are to be the means of his future aggrandisement; and his cruelties were, in general, inflicted only on those whom he considered as his enemies."

This statement wears the character of impartiality; but it falls short of justice. Tippoo's cruelties were not inflicted upon his enemies only. His conduct towards the Nairs of Malabar and the brave mountaineers of Courg, may be palliated by representing them as insurgents, although, in fact, they were never subjects; but his atrocious treatment of the Canarese Christians appears to have been as unprovoked as it was inhuman. Towards his Hindoo subjects, he was not less intolerant;* and his conduct in this respect, was in striking contrast with that of his father. For even these cruelties, his religion might be pleaded as his apology: "the rage of Islam" boiled in his breast. But his real disposition is most unequivocally manifested in his criminal edicts. "The laws of Draco," Col. Wilks remarks, "are tender mercies, compared with those which he established. History exhibits no prior example of a code perverting all possible purposes of punishment as a public example; combining the terrors of death with obscene mutilation, the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."† Of these and some other parts of his conduct, the only extenuation that can be offered, is, that they were probably the effect of partial derange-

* In 1791, a circumcised Brahmin, Mahomed Abbas, was detected in treasonable correspondence with the enemy. "And how long," said Tippoo, "have you been a traitor?" "From the period that you began to circumcise Brahmins and destroy their temples," was the bold reply.—Wilks, iii. 142.

† Wilks, iii. 269.—The penalties require the veil of a learned language.

ment.* "The original defects of his mind," remarks Mr. Mill, "arising from the vices of his education, appear to have increased as he advanced in years, and with peculiar rapidity after the loss of his dominions in 1792." That "disease" infected the whole conduct of Tippoo, public and private, and latterly in an extraordinary manner, is admitted by even this candid apologist for the much-defamed Sultan. His restless passion for innovation, his childish fickleness, his bursts of passion, perhaps his inordinate vanity, all indicated a feeble and unsteady intellect. "There was," says a native writer,† "nothing of permanency in his views, no solidity in his counsels, and no confidence on the part of the governed. All was innovation on his part, and the fear of further novelty on the part of others; and the order of to-day was expected to be reversed by the invention of to-morrow. It may be affirmed of his principal measures, however specious, that all had a direct tendency to injure the finances, undermine the government, and oppress the people. All the world was puzzled what distinct character should be assigned to a sovereign who was never the same. He could not be truly characterized as either liberal or parsimonious; as tyrannical or benevolent; as a man of talents, or as destitute of parts. By turns, he assumed the character of each. In one object alone he appeared to be consistent, having perpetually on his tongue the projects of *jehaud*—holy war. The most intelligent and sincere well-wishers of the House concurred in the opinion of his father, that his heart and

* That his intellect "occasionally tottered on the verge of insanity," was the general opinion even among his own subjects.—See Wilks, iii. 9.

† Seyed Hussein, from whose manuscript this citation is given by Col. Wilks, iii. 463.

head were both defective, however covered with a plausible and imposing flow of words; and they were not always without suspicion of mental aberration."

Tippoo was brave, and, though unable to grasp the plan of a campaign, gave some examples of skill in marshalling a battle. His mental energy failed with the decline of his fortune, but it were unjust to question his physical courage. He fell in the defence of his capital; but it was in performing the duties of a common soldier, not those of a general.* Mr. Mill says, he was religious; that "he spent a considerable part of every day in prayer;" and that "his confidence in the protection of God was one of his snares; for he relied upon it to the neglect of other means of safety." The true character of his religious belief and of his prayers, may be inferred from the closing scenes of his life, in which he had recourse to the divinations of the astrologer, to learn his fate, and to the incantations of the idolaters, for the purpose of averting it. His creed was that of the fatalist. A professed and even bigoted Moslem, he is stated to have placed his own religious exploits in competition with those of the Prophet, and to have given, by the impiety of his pretensions, great offence to the orthodox.† He has the credit of suppressing drunkenness and discountenancing luxury; but how far these reforms were dictated by virtuous intention, may be thought doubtful. "For an eastern prince," says Mr. Mill, "he was full of knowledge;" ‡ but "one of his

* "His failure against the English," Col. Wilks says, "arose from the false policy of neglecting his most efficient arm, the cavalry."

† Wilks, iii. 9.

‡ In his library was a translation of Euclid, with several works of reputation on geometry, mathematics, and astronomy

most remarkable characteristics was the want of judgement." He was "active, acute, ingenious," but superficial, pedantic, and singularly destitute of good sense. From his earliest youth, he was deceitful, cruel, and intractable. "If he had qualities fitted for empire," Col. Wilks remarks, "they were strangely equivocal; the disqualifications were obvious and unquestionable; and the decision of history will not be far removed from the observation almost proverbial in Mysore, that Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one." *

With regard to the character of Hyder, there is less room for a difference of opinion, and his merits and demerits may be summed up in fewer words. He was a sagacious, strong-minded, heartless, cold-blooded tyrant; the most completely divested of moral feeling, perhaps, of all that ever waded through crimes to a throne. Yet, so completely were his crimes the result of calculation, that they were never more or less than the occasion demanded; and he is said never to have achieved through blood, what he was able to effect by fraud. "If he was cruel or unfeeling," remarks Colonel Wilks, "it was for the promotion of his objects, and never for the gratification of anger or revenge. If he was ever liberal, it was because liberality exalted his character, and augmented his power. If he was ever merciful, it was in those cases where the reputation of mercy promoted future submission. His European prisoners were in irons, because they were deemed otherwise unmanageable; they were scantily fed, because that was economical; there was little distinction of rank, because that would have been expensive; but, beyond these

* Wilks iii. 459—465. Mill, vi. 128—132, v. 388—391.

simple interested views, there was, by his authority, no wanton severity;—there was no compassion, but there was no resentment. It was a political expenditure for a political purpose; and there was no passion, good or bad, to disturb the balance of the account. He carried merciless devastation into an enemy's country, but never beyond the reputed utility of the case. He sent the inhabitants into captivity, because it injured the enemy's country and benefited his own. The misery of the individuals was no part of the consideration; and the death of the greater portion still left a residue to swell a scanty population. With an equal absence of feeling, he caused forcible emigrations from one province to another, because he deemed it the best cure for rebellion; and he converted the male children into military slaves, because he expected them to improve the quality of his army. He gave fair, and occasionally brilliant encouragement to the active and aspiring among his servants, so long as liberality proved an incitement to exertion; and he robbed and tortured them, without gratitude or compunction, when no further services were expected. It was an account of profit and loss, and a calculation whether it was more beneficial to employ or to plunder them.....The tolerant spirit of Hyder reconciled to his usurpation the members of every sect. Appropriate talents regulated his choice of instruments, to the entire exclusion of religious preference; and it may be affirmed, that he was served with equal zeal by men of every persuasion." *

Such was Hyder's political system, under which his dominions were brought into that state of comparative

* Wilks, iii. 457, 8; 464.

prosperity which struck the British officers with surprise, and which has been erroneously ascribed to the feebler despotism and less enlightened policy of his son. In the earlier part of Tippoo's reign, the system of his father was still in operation, and his own character had but a negative influence on the prosperity of his immediate subjects. A simple homogeneous despotism, like that of Hyder, steadily administered by the strong hand of power, may certainly be regarded as more compatible with the interests and even happiness of the governed, than the complicated system of chicanery and plunder which the partnership governments of the Company and the native Nabobs elsewhere produced.* Hyder's severity and injustice fell upon the instruments, rather than the objects of his rule. Official men had cause to tremble; but the mass of the population felt, that the vigour of the Government compensated for many ills, and rendered their condition comparatively safe.

The personal character of Hyder, however, was more execrable, because less pitiable than that of his son. He was less cruel, because he was less cowardly; but he was equally ruthless. Hyder's vices, it has been remarked, invariably promoted his political interests; while Tippoo's more frequently defeated them. We must except, however, those personal vices in Hyder, which were connected with his animal gratifications. He was a sensualist of the lowest description; yet,

* "His country was, at least during the *first and better part* of his (Tippoo's) reign, the best cultivated, and his population the most flourishing in India; while, under the English and their dependents, the population of Carnatic and Oude, hastening to deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth; and even Bengal itself, under the operation of laws ill-adapted to the circumstances of the case, was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict."—Mill, iv. 129.

even in his pleasures, he was governed by calculation. He was addicted to drinking, but his excesses were so prudently managed as to be known to few. As he was incapable of sentiment, so he may be said to have been even without passion; he did not yield to licentiousness, but deliberately revelled in it, to the most abominable excess, without compunction or misgiving. He was the master of his vices, coolly and purely wicked.

Of his temper, as of his countenance, he possessed the most disciplined command. His apparent bursts of anger were the effect, not of mental disturbance, but of a wish to inspire terror. "On occasions apparently trivial," we are told, "he would pour forth a torrent of that obscene abuse in which he excelled, on persons of whatever rank; and there were, moreover, in his whole court, not six persons, perhaps, who had not, on some one occasion, sustained the actual lash of his *côrla* (long whip)."* Hyder was absolutely illiterate; he could neither read nor write any language; but, besides the Hindoostanee, (his mother tongue,) he spoke with fluency the Canarese, Mahratta, Telegoo, and Tamul languages. He is said to have possessed the rare talent of carrying on, simultaneously, three distinct operations of attention; dictating to a moonshee, receiving a report from another attendant, and following the recital of an account by a third, at the same time. He was a bold horseman, an accomplished swordsman, and, as a marksman, almost unrivalled.† His military pretensions, Col. Wilks remarks, were more favourably displayed in the conduct of a campaign, than of

* Wilks, iii. 455.

† "Volunteers engaged in single combat with the royal tiger in the public shows, confident of being preserved in the last extremity by the fusil of Hyder from the balcony." Ib. 453.

a battle; in the political, rather than in the military conduct of a war. It was the reverse with Tippoo, who was indeed on most points his father's opposite. In his dress, Hyder exhibited an extravagant mixture of the soldier and the fop, and he had a barbarian's fondness for show and parade; in which, however, he might still be governed not more by inclination than by policy. In religion, he was at least half a Hindoo. The whole of his exterior religion consisted in enumerating a few of the Divine attributes on a rosary: the usual forms of prayer, the fasts, and other observances of the Mohammedan faith, he never affected either to know or to practise. His creed consisted in believing that all religions are equally Divine and equally acceptable to God; and it is said, that the great idol in the temple of Seringapatam, called Ranga Sawmey, had certainly as large a share of his respect as all the Imaums, with Mohammed at their head.*

In a country subject to despotism, the character of the sovereign is the epitome of his reign. We now return to the narrative of the events which followed the death of Tippoo. The English were, by that event, left masters of the kingdom of Mysore; and the momentous question which it remained for the Governor-General to decide, was, how to dispose of it. The plan which he adopted was, the partition of the country between the English and their allies, with a reserve of territory for a pageant Rajah, of the old dynasty. "On the principle of indemnification and security," it was decreed, that the English, on their part, should take to themselves the whole of the territory possessed by the Sultan on the Malabar coast, (that is to say, the districts of Canara, including all the sea-coast of My-

* Wilks, iii. 457.

sore,) together with Coimbetoor and Daramporam, and the whole of the country intervening between the Company's territories on the Coromandel coast and on that of Malabar; also, the forts and posts forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts on the table land of Mysore; the district of Wynaad; and lastly, the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam, which was deemed essential to secure the communication between the British territory on both coasts, and to strengthen the lines of defence in every direction. A territory yielding an equal revenue with that which the English took to themselves, was given to Nizam Ali, in the districts of Gooty, Gorumcondah, and the tract of country which lies along the line of the great forts of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar; but without the forts, which, it was thought, would render his territory too strong. The share of territory reserved for the third party in the alliance against Tippoo, (who had abstained, however, from all participation in the war,) and which was to be ceded to them on certain conditions, comprised Harponelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, Annagoondy, and some other districts, with part of the territory (not including the fortresses) of Chittledroog and Bednore: territories equal in value to between one-half and two-thirds of the portion given to the Nizam. Of the portion which still remained of Tippoo's dominions, to form a separate state, the revenue (estimated at thirteen laks of pagodas) was greater than that of the ancient Rajahship of Mysore.

The Peishwa, under the dictation of Dowlut Row Sindia, declined to enter into the alliance proposed to him by the British; and the reserved territory was therefore shared, agreeably to the stipulations of the partition treaty, between the Company and the

Nizam. In order to increase still further the efficiency of the alliance with the latter power, a fresh contract was entered into on the 12th of October, 1800, by which the English added two battalions of sepoys and a regiment of native cavalry, to the force which they engaged to uphold in his service; and also bound themselves to defend his dominions against every aggression: while, on his part, the Nizam ceded in perpetual sovereignty, all the acquisitions which he had made from the territory of Tippoo, either by the late treaty or by that of Seringapatam in 1792; and agreed neither to make war nor to negotiate without their concurrence. For the purpose of obtaining the Toongbuddra as a clear and distinct boundary, Kupoor, Gujunderghur, and some other districts were given to the Nizam, in exchange for Adwanee and a few places on the southern side of the river. A revenue of 1,758,000 pagodas arose from the districts ceded by this treaty to the English, who, by this means, "acquired a small territory with the obligation of defending a large one."*

The remains of Tippoo Sultan were deposited near those of his father, in the superb mausoleum of the Lâll Baugh, "with all the splendour and distinction which the Mohammedan rites and the military honours of European sepulture could bestow." Immediately after the sons of the Sultan had been removed from Seringapatam, towards the place of their destination, Kistna Raj Oudawer, a child of five years of age,†

* Mill, vi. 137—147. Malcolm, i. 230—246.

† Cham Raj, whom Hyder had raised to the nominal sovereignty in 1775, died in 1796. Till then, Tippoo had not omitted the customary form of shewing the Rajah to his people once a year, at the feast of the Dessera; but on the death of this prince, the ceremony of even a nominal succession to the musnud was omitted. The Ranee, with the infant heir, then two years old, and the rem-

H. Adlard, sc.

TOMB OF HYDER ALI.

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" a lineal descendant of the ancient family of Mysore," was " installed at the seat of his ancestors, in the presence of an immense multitude of Hindoos." Purneah, a Brahmin of great ability, who had been the chief financial minister of Tippoo, was appointed *duan*, with Sir Barry Close as Political Resident; " supported by the cordial co-operation, in the military command, of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley"* (now Duke of Wellington). It is evident that, in point of fact, the entire sovereignty of the country was assumed by the British, of whom the Rajah and his ministers were vice-regents during pleasure. There was no double government, no conflicting authority; † but, by leaving every office, civil and military, to be filled by the natives themselves, not only the submission, but the gratitude of the people was secured. The Rajah served at the same time as " a species of screen, put up to hide at once from Indian and from European eyes, the extent of aggrandizement which the British territory had received." This plan enabled the Governor-General to dismiss Nizam Ali with a much smaller share of the spoils of Tippoo, than would have satisfied him, had the English taken without disguise the whole of what they in this manner adroitly appropriated. It precluded the Mahrattas from attempting to excite a jealousy of the English. And what was still more an

nant of the family, after being stripped of their personal ornaments, were removed to " a miserable hovel," in which they were found at the capture of Seringapatam.—Wilks, iii. 300.

* Ib., iii. 472.

† " Recollecting the inconveniences and embarrassments which have arisen to all parties concerned," said the Governor-General in his despatch, " under the double government and conflicting authorities unfortunately established in Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, I resolved to reserve to the Company *the most extensive and indisputable powers.*"

object, perhaps, with the Governor, it imposed completely upon the Legislature at home; while it held out to the Company the flattering expectation, that "the kingdom of Mysore, so long the source of calamity or alarm to the Carnatic, might become a new barrier of our defence, and might supply fresh means of wealth and strength to the Company, their subjects and allies."*

"To the family of Tippoo, if we make allowance for the loss of a throne, as well as to the principal men of his kingdom, the conduct of the Governor-General," Mr. Mill remarks, "was considerate and generous. The fortress of Velore, in the Carnatic, was appropriated for the residence of the Royal family, and fitted up commodiously for their reception, with an allowance for their support, more liberal than that which they had received from Tippoo himself. The principal men were all provided for by jagheers or pensions, conformable to their rank and influence, with a generosity which not only contented, but greatly astonished them." All the chiefs made their submission without hesitation and delay,† with the solitary exception of Dhoondee, a Mahratta adventurer, who, after serving in the armies both of Hyder and Tippoo, set up for himself at the head of a predatory band, but, at the time of the fall of Seringapatam, had for some years been the Sultan's prisoner. He contrived, on the day of the final assault, to make his escape, and soon collected round him a band of desperate freebooters, which rendered it

* Lord Wellesley's Letter to the Directors. Malcolm, i. 240. Mill, vi. 142.

† "When one of Tippoo's confidential servants was sent to treat with the officer at the head of the cavalry, the celebrated Kummir ud deen Khan, he refused to stipulate for terms, and said, he cast himself upon the generosity of the English."—Mill. vi. 144.

necessary for General Harris to move the army to the northward, to dislodge him. Though deprived of all his posts, he was not, however, as yet destroyed ; but, being followed by his partisans to the south, he made such rapid strides towards the establishment of a new empire, that it became necessary to send against him the army left under the Hon. Colonel Wellesley for the defence of Mysore. Dhoondee displayed no ordinary talents in his defence ; and, by his activity and judgement, protracted for several months the efforts employed for his destruction. He at length fell in a charge of cavalry led by the Colonel in person.*

No sooner had Lord Wellesley returned to Bengal from Madras, after the reduction of Tippoo, than he proceeded to accomplish a series of bold *reforms*, which had for their object, to bring the native governments still more absolutely under the control of the Company. The first measure which occupied his attention, was, " the reduction of a part of the mutinous and useless military establishment of the Nabob Vizier, and the increase of the efficient force maintained by the Company to defend that prince's dominions. He was urged to the immediate adoption of this measure," says Sir John Malcolm, " by a strong sense of the dangers to which the Vizier's territories were exposed from internal tumult or foreign attack."

The first step which his Lordship took in the meditated reform, was somewhat extraordinary. A number of Europeans, chiefly British subjects, had established themselves in Oude, where they peacefully pursued their occupations; but the Governor-General announced his fixed determination to " dislodge every European, excepting the Company's servants."† His

* Wilks, iii. 293—9, 451.

† " My wish is," writes his Lordship, " to occasion as little pri-

orders were obeyed; an act of despotic authority for which he was never called to account.

The danger of foreign attack, which formed one of the pretexts for urging upon the Vizir the projected innovations, related to the rumoured preparations of Zemaun Shah, the Afghaun sovereign,* who, in the year 1797, had advanced to Lahore, with the reported design of re-establishing the House of Timour. Towards the close of 1798, he again advanced to Lahore, but was recalled by the alarming progress made by his brother, Mahmoud, at the head of a military force in the neighbourhood of Herat. Mahmoud was supported in his pretensions as the elder brother, by the sovereign of Persia (the present Futteh Ali Shah); and in 1801, he collected such a force as enabled him not only to defeat his brother, but to render him a captive.† In the mean time, at the suggestion of Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, a splendid embassy to the Court of Tehraun was sent out by the Governor-General, the object of which was to induce the Shah to invade the Afghaun dominions, in order to divert Zemaun Shah from his projected invasion of Hindostan. Captain (now General Sir John) Malcolm, who had lately been assistant to the British Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, was chosen as the envoy; and to his diplomatic skill and engaging

vate distress as possible, but the public service must take its course, and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in the extent of so great a measure."—Mill, vi. 154.

* Zemaun Shah had succeeded his father, Timour Shah, the son of the celebrated Ahmed Shah, the founder of the dynasty, in the year 1792.

† His eyes were put out, and he remained in confinement all Mahmoud's reign, but was released by his successor. The history of the Dooraunee monarchy is given by Mr. Elphinstone. (Vol. II., App. A.)

manners, the success of the negotiation is greatly attributable. The embassy proceeded from Bombay, December 29, 1799; and before the end of the ensuing year, a treaty of alliance had been concluded, by which the Persian monarch engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghauns, if ever they should invade India, and to extirpate any French force that might attempt to form a settlement on any of the shores or islands of Persia.* In the same year (1800), Lord Wellesley, anxious by every means to guard against the danger of a French invasion, (the object to which all his measures were directed,) equipped an expedition to Egypt. "A considerable force from India, under the command of Sir David Baird, marched from Suez to Alexandria, presenting the extraordinary spectacle of a British army, composed chiefly of the natives of India, on the shores of the Mediterranean." †

To return to the affairs of Oude. The internal state of the country supplied at this time a pretext somewhat stronger than the alleged danger of foreign attack, for accomplishing the intended revolution. Vizir Ali, the deposed Nabob, ‡ had hitherto been permitted to reside at Benares; but that place was now thought to be too near his former dominions, and his removal to Calcutta was determined upon. Against this change, the young prince strongly remonstrated, but in vain. On the 14th of Jan., 1799, he paid a visit, by appointment, attended by his usual suite, to

* Malcolm, i. 271. Mill, vi. 160—3. Mehdee Ali Khan, a Hindoo gentleman of Persian extraction, had been sent on a mission to the court of Tehraun by Governor Duncan, in 1798; but the negotiation had not been attended with a satisfactory result.—See Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 236.

† Malcolm, i. 272.

‡ See page 194.

Mr. Cherry, the British Resident, at his house about three miles from Benares. After the usual compliments, he began to speak of the hardship of his coercive removal, and he proceeded to use intemperate language, which Mr. Cherry is represented as having gently attempted to repress. The impetuous youth, however, whether from sudden irritation or from a premeditated purpose of revenge, started up, and made a blow at him with his sword. This, by the law of Eastern manners, was a signal to his attendants. Mr. Cherry, in endeavouring to make his escape through a window, received a blow from a poniard, which stretched him lifeless on the floor, and two other gentlemen in the room met the same fate. The assassins then hurried to the houses of other Englishmen; but, after sacrificing two more lives in their progress, they were so vigorously resisted by a gentleman who possessed himself of a narrow stair-case, and defended it against their ascent, that time was given for the arrival of a party of horse; upon which they betook themselves to flight. So little preparation had Vizir Ali made for this explosion, that he was obliged to leave behind him whatever property he possessed, the furniture of his zenana, his elephants, and even some of his horses. He retired to the woody country of Bhootwal, where he was joined by several disaffected zemindars; and he soon found himself at the head of an army of several thousand men. With this force, he descended into the plains of Goorukpoor, the eastern district of Oude, and threw the whole kingdom into alarm. At Lucknow, the outrage upon the British Resident had been regarded as the eruption of a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Government; and the weak and timid Saadut Ali, distrustful of his own troops, intreated that the English battalion

might be sent from Cawnpoor for the protection of his own person. He urged these suspicions, moreover, as an excuse for not joining with his forces the British army assembled to chastise the offender, and who accordingly proceeded to meet him in the field. Some partial rencounters, in which Vizir Ali's troops suffered severely, and the narrow limits to which they were reduced, soon disheartened his followers, and they began to abandon him in great numbers; upon which he took refuge with the Rajah of Jyepoor. He remained under his protection till the following December, when the Rajpoot made his terms with the British Government, and delivered up the fugitive, who was carried to Fort William, and placed in close confinement.

The Vizir had unwittingly furnished the Governor-General with the most plausible reason for urging the disbanding of a military force which he had represented as inadequate to contribute any assistance towards the defence of his own dominions, and upon which he could place so little reliance as to require the protection of an English battalion. Lord Wellesley's plan was, to replace that force with an army exclusively British. On the first proposal of this reform, the Vizir intimated his intention to abdicate in favour of his son; assigning as his reasons, the disloyal and refractory disposition of his subjects, and his own weariness of the fatigues and cares of government. But when he found that he would not be allowed to nominate a successor, but that he was expected to transfer the complete authority, civil and military, of his hereditary dominions, to the Company, at a stipulated price, he revolted at the ignominious bargain, and expressed his wish to retain the charge of his government. The Governor-General, disappointed

and provoked at this apparent vacillation, now used little ceremony in compelling the Vizir to submit to his measures. In the execution of them, however, he observed a generous policy. The delicate business of disbanding the troops of the Vizir, by which so many armed men were to be deprived of their accustomed means of subsistence, was conducted in a manner highly creditable to the ability as well as the feelings of the gentlemen upon whom it devolved. "As considerable arrears were always due to native troops, and seldom fully paid, the complete discharge of arrears, on which the British Government insisted, was a powerful instrument of conciliation. When dissatisfaction any where appeared, every effort was employed to correct misapprehension; patience was exercised; the means of coercion were exhibited, rather than used; pardon was liberally extended, even when resistance had been overcome; and before the end of the year, the measure was, in great part, carried into effect, without bloodshed or commotion." *

The military occupation of the kingdom of Oude was now complete; but a difficulty arose as to the maintenance of the additional subsidiary force, the charges of which the Vizir professed himself unable to defray. It was therefore resolved to demand the cession to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories as should be fully adequate, in their then impoverished condition, to meet the augmented charges. In selecting the portions to be demanded, the object was, to insulate the Vizir, as well for the purpose of precluding him from entering into foreign alliances, as of defending him against invasion. To this end, choice was made of the Doab and Rohilcund;

* Mill, vol. vi. p. 196.

and Azimghur and Goorukpoor were also to be demanded, in case that the revenue of the former countries should prove insufficient. The Vizir, aware that resistance was hopeless, endeavoured to save himself from the disgrace of compliance; while the Governor-General wished to avoid the appearance of forcibly seizing the greater part of the Vizir's dominions; and every mode of importunity was exhausted, to extort from the helpless Nabob the appearance of consent. To all the pressing remonstrances with which he was plied, he opposed only professions of passive and reluctant obedience.* At length, in November 1801, the treaty by which he was made the instrument of his own virtual deposition, obtained his unwilling signature.† The gross revenue of the ceded provinces was estimated at 1 crore, 35 laks, 23,474 rupees; being considerably more than half the territorial revenue of the Vizir's whole dominions, but considerably less (we are told by Sir John Malcolm) than the subsidy which he would have been under obligation to furnish, under the treaty concluded by Sir John Shore, as the pay of the Company's troops, now *necessarily* increased to 13,000 men. The advantages accruing to the Company from the treaty, were stated by the Governor-General, to comprise "the entire extinction of the military power of the Nawaub;" the maintenance of a great part of the

* "It is evident," said the Vizir, in a letter dated Sept. 29, 1801, "that I can derive no advantage from alienating part of my country, while I shall not remain master of the remainder."—MILL, vol. vi. p. 212.

† Sir John Malcolm supposes the Vizir's reluctance to have been "*assumed*, to prevent the unpopularity that would have attached to any appearance of satisfaction with a treaty depriving so many of his dependents of profits." His own representations afford no countenance to this strange supposition.

Bengal army at the Nawaub's expense; the securing of the subsidy against all the contingencies arising from "the corruption, imbecility, and abuse of that vicious and incorrigible system of vexation and misrule which constituted the government of Oude;" and the power acquired by the Company, of becoming "the instrument of restoring to affluence and prosperity, one of the most fertile regions of the globe, which had been reduced to the most afflicting misery and desolation by the depraved administration of the native government." To adjust the provisional administration and settlement of the ceded districts, three of the civil servants of the Company were appointed a board of commissioners; and the Hon. Henry Wellesley, the Governor-General's brother and private secretary, was nominated to be Lieutenant-Governor of the new territory, and president of the board.*

Among the territorial cessions extorted from the Vizir, was included the tribute paid to the government of Oude by the Nabob of Furrakabad, a principality extending along the western banks of the Ganges, to the north-west of the Oude territory. The ancestors

* This appointment was resented by the Directors, on the ground that Mr. Wellesley was not one of the Company's servants; but the order for his removal was over-ruled by the Board of Control. On the dissolution of the commission for the settlement of the ceded provinces, in March 1802, Mr. Wellesley resigned his office, and returned to Europe. While the negotiation with the Vizir was still pending, the Bhow Begum, his grand-mother, tendered to the English Government the offer to constitute the Company her heir. The object of the Begum was, to secure herself against the exactions to which she was exposed at the hands of her grandson. Lord Wellesley resolved to accept the proposed legacy, although the law of the country gave her no right to make such a disposal of her property; and it is remarkable, that the spoliation of the Begums by Warren Hastings, was defended upon this very ground, that the sovereign was legal heir to the property of his subjects.—Mill, vol. vi. pp. 227—231.

of the Nabob had long been protected by the Bengal Government against their powerful neighbour, whose wish to dispossess them was no secret. Since 1786, however, he had not been permitted to retain any military force beyond what was required for purposes of state; and now it was deemed necessary still further to *reform* the government, by compelling the Nabob to cede his country in perpetuity to the English, on condition of retaining his title and a pension. With this arrangement, he is represented to have been "highly gratified." Several of the zemindars of the ceded country, however, shewed an aversion to submit to the alterations imposed upon them. One chief, Bugwunt Singh, possessed the two forts of Sasnee and Bidjeghur, and maintained an army of 20,000 men. To dispossess him of these forts, it became necessary to employ a considerable force. After a feeble defence, they were both evacuated by their garrisons, who made their escape; and the Rajah withdrew to a fort which belonged to him within the Mahratta frontier. The Zemindar of Cutchoura was another who manifested a refractory spirit: he was besieged in his fort, and made his escape, though with severe loss of his troops, by forcing his way through the surrounding chain of posts. The Rajah Chutter Saul, who possessed the fort of Tetteeah, defended himself with so much success as to overpower the first detachment sent to reduce him. On the arrival of reinforcements, he evacuated the fort, and fled to the other side of the Jumna. These events occurred in 1802, 1803.

While the business of territorial aggrandizement was thus successfully going forward in the Bengal Presidency, it is not to be supposed that his Lordship was unmindful of the urgent necessity for reform pre-

sented by the eternal disorders of the Carnatic. Omdut-ul-Omrah, who succeeded his father, Mohammed Ali, in 1795, had, from the first, shewn little disposition to fulfil his engagements to the Company; and in the last war against Tippoo Sultan, he had withheld the promised supplies in a manner which excited strong suspicions of treachery. Soon after the capture of Seringapatam, documents were discovered among the state papers of the Sultan, containing conclusive evidence of a secret correspondence having been carried on by the two Nabobs of Arcot, father and son, with the Sultan of Mysore. Part of this correspondence was in cipher, the key to which was found among the Sultan's records, and it explained the names used to denote the English and their allies. The English were designated by the name of *Teza Warced*, new comers; the Nizam, by that of *Heech*, nothingness; and the Mahrattas, by that of *Pooch*, despicable. No other discovery of importance was elicited, after a long examination of witnesses; but, as this correspondence with the enemy was in direct violation of an article of the treaty of 1792, the deposition of the Nabob might seem to have been a measure of obvious and justifiable policy. The proceeding of the Governor-General was, in this instance, however, singularly cautious and moderate; and the illness of the Nabob occasioned a considerate delay in accomplishing the necessary changes. Omdut-ul-Omrah died, July 15, 1801, bequeathing his sovereignty to his son, Ali Hoossein. Attempts were made to induce this young prince voluntarily to transfer the government of the Carnatic principality to the Company; but, as he proved wholly unmanageable, his succession was set aside in favour of Azeem-ul-Dowlah, his cousin, who made little difficulty in ac-

cepting the state and rank of Nabob of the Carnatic, with a handsome provision, as the condition of his delivering over all the powers of government in perpetuity to the English. In the following year (April 6, 1802), the rejected Nabob was carried off by a dysentery.*

The deposition of the Rajah of Tanjore was an easy matter. It had been made a question in 1792, on the conclusion of a peace with Tippoo, whether Ameer Singh should again be entrusted with the civil administration of the country, which had been withdrawn from him during the war; but it was at length agreed to restore it to him in full possession. In 1798, the "convenient discovery" was made, that Ameer Singh was not the legitimate heir to the *musnud*, and he was dethroned in favour of Serfojee, the adopted son of Tuljajee, the last Rajah, who died in 1786. Serfojee, being obviously in a situation to submit implicitly to any terms which the English might prescribe, was easily induced to sign a treaty, dated Oct. 25, 1799, by which he resigned for ever all the powers of government, on condition of receiving a pension of one *lak* of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues.

The Bombay Presidency afforded occasion for another application of the Governor-General's principle of military reform; and the dethronement of the Nabob of Surat was effected with still less ceremony.

* Mill, vol. vi. pp. 282—293. Ameer Singh, the deposed Rajah of Tanjore, died nearly at the same time. Pondicherry having been restored to the French, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens, Bonaparte alarmed the English by sending out a great list of military officers, with 1400 regular troops and 100,000*l.* in specie. The speedy renewal of the war enabled the English to resume possession of the settlement in 1803; but the French admiral, Linois, had intelligence sufficiently prompt to enable him to escape with the fleet.—*Ib.* p. 301.

In May 1800, the Governor of Bombay arrived in person at Surat, to superintend the bloodless revolution; and the Nabob, finding resistance hopeless, executed the treaty ready drawn up by the Governor-General, by which he resigned the government, civil and military, with all its powers and privileges, to the East India Company, the Company agreeing to pay to him and his heirs, a *lak* of rupees annually, together with a fifth of the net revenue. Although thus reduced to a mere pensioner of state, it was still deemed proper for Meer Nasseer-ud-Deen to assume the semblance of royalty. His succession to the *musnud* being now publicly recognized by the British Governor, he was installed with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been invested with all the powers of sovereignty.

In all these transactions, nothing is more remarkable than the singular anxiety displayed, to obtain the sanction of extorted treaties and a constrained acquiescence from the deposed rulers, for arrangements to which such formalities could impart no real validity. It may excite surprise, that it should have been deemed necessary to disguise the Company's sovereignty under so expensive a pageant as that of the royal pensionaries in whose names the government continued to be administered. In the case of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the English would have been justified, long before, in permanently seizing upon the government of the country, and abolishing the very title of their faithless dependent. When Azeem-ud-Dowlah was raised to the *musnud*, the act was declared to be "one of expediency and grace, not of right or justice." "His claims," says Sir John Malcolm, "were to be considered of consequence, only as they served to reconcile to the measure the great

body of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the English territories, and the Mohammedan rulers of neighbouring states." * Yet, unless the Shah of Persia and the sovereign of Caubul be referred to, the only Mohammedan rulers left, were the captive Emperor and the impotent Nizam: and as to the Mohammedan inhabitants, they do not form a tenth part of the population of the South of India. To the great body of the people, if any consideration was bestowed upon the manner in which they might feel affected by these changes, the abolition of a Mohammedan dynasty could be no grievance. They are represented, in fact, as being disaffected towards the very rulers whose nominal government it was thought politic to perpetuate. "Even under the bad system of taxation and the bad system of judicature" adopted by the English, the people, Mr. Mill remarks, were greatly the gainers by the change; and on this ground, he adds, "we should rejoice that every inch of territory within the limits of India were subject to their sway." In short, the annals of history afford no instance of a usurpation so justifiable on every plea except those which were employed to defend it; pleas which, by their hollow and dangerous nature, threw a questionable character over the most beneficent conquests that were ever achieved. It might almost be said, that the only injustice committed, lay in the state pretexts thus set up for measures which had no other warrant than a wise policy and the law of the strongest.†

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 306.

† The pleas set forth by the Governor-General in state papers of formidable length, are acutely examined and exposed by Mr. Mill, vol. vi. pp. 208—300. They answered, however, their designed purpose at the time, in reconciling the Legislature to proceedings,

It remains to give an account of the new relations into which Lord Wellesley entered with the Mahratta states. From the year 1798 to 1802, negotiations had been going forward with the Peishwa, Bajee Row, from time to time, the object of which, on the part of the Governor-General, was to induce him to consign the defence of his dominions to a subsidized British force.* The Peishwa, however, aware that the permanent establishment of a British force in the vicinity of Poonah, would place him in a state of dependence upon the British power, discovered a strong aversion to the project; † and he continued to withhold his consent to any admissible modifications of the Governor General's proposal, until, in October 1802, the approach of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, at the head of a formidable army, compelled him to abandon his

the necessity and policy of which were, at the time, ill understood in England. It must not be forgotten, that the Nabob had his agents in this country, and the Company its enemies. Remonstrances from the rejected Nabob of Carnatic, couched in the most vehement and pathetic language, were transmitted to the home authorities. But the time for such intrigues was gone by.

* In this interval, (March 13th, 1800,) Nana Furnuwees closed his long and able career; "and with him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government." "He was, certainly," says Captain Grant Duff, "a great statesman. In the latter unhappy years of his life, he is entitled to the high praise of having acted with the feelings and sincerity of a patriot. He was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops, in the manner proposed by the Marquis Wellesley, if the energies of the Government could possibly be restored without their aid. He respected the English, admired their sincerity and the vigour of their Government; but, as political enemies, no one regarded them with more jealousy and alarm. In private life, he was a man of strict veracity, humane, frugal, and charitable. His whole time was regulated with the strictest order, and the business personally transacted by him almost exceeds credibility."—Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 188.

† Mill, vol. vi. pp. 305—11. A similar proposal was made about this time to Sindia, but he declined the proffered "benefit."

capital, and to throw himself upon the protection of the British. Holkar announced his design in marching to Poonah, to be the putting down of the authority of Sindia, his great rival. On the 25th of Oct. 1802, their two armies engaged. After a warm cannonade of nearly three hours, the cavalry of Holkar made a general charge, and that of Sindia gave way, yielding a decisive victory. The Peishwa, on ascertaining the unexpected issue of the battle, fled, with about 7000 followers, to the fort of Singurh; leaving in the hands of his minister, for the British Resident (Colonel Sir Barry Close), a preliminary engagement, binding himself to subsidize six battalions of sepoys, with their proportion of artillery, and to cede a territory, either in Gujerat or the Carnatic, yielding a revenue of twenty-five *laks* of rupees for their support. The wishes of the Governor-General were thus accomplished; and he ratified the engagement on the day on which it was received.

For a short time after his victory, Holkar assumed an appearance of great moderation: he placed guards for the protection of the city, treated all the dependents of the Peishwa with kindness, and used every endeavour to allure him to return to his palace. Bajee Row remained for three days at Singurh, and then hastily retired to Raigurh, whence he pursued his flight to the fortress of Mhar, on the river Bancoote; and not deeming himself safe in any place accessible to Holkar, he despatched letters to the Bombay Government, requesting that ships might be sent to convey him and his followers to that island. Disappointed of obtaining possession of the Peishwa's person, Holkar resolved to treat his flight as an abdication, and to raise to the government Amrut Row, the adopted son of the Peishwa's father, the late Ragoba. Amrut Row refused to ascend the *musnud* himself,

but he at length concurred in the elevation of his son, Winaek Row. Holkar now laid aside the mask, and began to extort and plunder with all the violence of his character. Every respectable householder of Poonah was seized and forced to give up his wealth, and several died through the tortures they underwent. These excesses were begun even before Colonel Close quitted Poonah. Both Amrut Row and Holkar employed their earnest endeavours to prevail upon the British Resident to remain, anxious to gain by his presence, the apparent sanction of the British Government to their usurpation; but when it was found that no persuasion could alter his purpose, he was at last permitted to depart on the 20th of November, and he arrived at Bombay on the 3rd of the following month. On the 16th, the Peishwa arrived at Bassein, where he was joined by Col. Close; and on the 31st, a definitive treaty of alliance was concluded between the Peishwa and the British Government. By this treaty, a subsidiary force of not less than 6000 native infantry, with the usual proportion of field artillery and European artillery-men, was to be stationed in the Peishwa's dominions; for the payment of which force, districts yielding twenty-six *laks* of rupees were to be made over to the Company. The Peishwa, moreover, relinquished all claims on Surat and the other districts under the British Government in Gujerat; he submitted to the arbitration of the Company his unsettled disputes with the Nizam and the Guicowar; and he bound himself not to engage in hostilities against other states, or in negotiations with any other power, except in concert with the British Government.*

* Mr. Mill, who devotes about fifty pages to the consideration of the treaty of Bassein, contends, that it was the real cause of the subsequent Mahratta war; that the only end which it answered,

By the treaty of Bassein, Bajee Row sacrificed his independence as the price of protection; but it was the only course he could pursue, to save himself from becoming, more than ever, a mere pageant in the hands of either Sindia or Holkar. "Scarcely had he ratified the treaty," we are told, "when he began to waver in his plans, and to regret the decided line of policy, so contrary to his disposition, into which he had been hurried by the exigency of his circumstances. Motives of policy, probably, dictated the expression of his regret that Sindia had not been consulted; but there was no insincerity in his strenuous objections to those articles which tended to control his political freedom and influence, and which related to the arbitration of his claims on the Gaekwar and the Nizam; a sacrifice on his part greater than the English authorities seem ever to have fully understood, or, at all events, appreciated. He despatched Ballajee Koonjur to Sindia, and Narrain Rao Wydh to Rughoojee Bhonslay, ostensibly with the view of explaining the nature of the alliance into which he had entered; but, in fact, as he knew they were both

was that of serving as a pretext for undertaking that war; that all that was gained by it, was the dependence of the Peishwa; and he stigmatises the whole scheme of subsidiary alliances as a complicated apparatus, answering no good purpose. Sir John Malcolm argues, that the treaty of Bassein was a necessary sequel to that of Hyderabad in 1800, and that one of two courses was inevitable;—either "to retract our pledged faith to the Nizam and the Government of Mysore, and to abandon our conquests," or, "to endeavour to effect, by negotiation, a change in the constitution of the Mahratta Government, rendering it more favourable to the maintenance of general peace and tranquillity." By our alliance with the Nizam and the conquest of Mysore, we had succeeded to all the local and political relations which subsisted between the Mahrattas and those states; and an alliance with the Peishwa became indispensable for the safety of our own territories.—Malcolm, vol. i., pp. 313—17, 379—85.

averse to it, rather to excuse his conduct, in having been obliged, owing to their absence, to flee from Holkar, and seek safety with Europeans.' He sent no copy of the treaty, and, in his letter, invited Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay to march to Poona with all speed; not expressly to act against the English, of whom he takes no notice, but to punish the rebel Holkar. He seems to have expected, that Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay would unite to oppose the objects of the treaty; to have been doubtful of the issue of the contest that might ensue between them and the English; and to have been anxious, as usual, to deceive all parties, whilst he at the same time endeavoured to keep on terms with them.

"The Governor-General hoped, that Sindia might be deterred from any hostile attempts to obstruct the operation of the treaty. After the battle of Poonah, an effort was made to induce him to enter into the defensive alliance; and upon the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, he was again invited to enter into similar engagements. But, Sindia, though he would have been well pleased, in the first moment of alarm, after the defeat of his army by Holkar, to see a British force co-operating with his own, for the temporary purpose of re-establishing the Peishwa in his capital, and suppressing the power of his rival, was mortified and incensed on finding that his own and his uncle's plans for controlling the Peishwa's government were at once frustrated and overturned. He saw that his own independence might soon be affected by the support which the Peishwa derived from a foreign nation, whose power, by a novel system of encroachment, threatened the subversion of the Mahrattas, as effectually as their establishment of *chouth*

and *surdeshmookee* had overwhelmed the empire of the Moghuls." *

The aversion with which the Berar Rajah (Ragojee or Rughoojee Bhonslay) had always regarded the plan of the subsidiary alliance, was well known; and Sindia now deputed his prime minister to consult with Ragojee on the best means of cementing a general confederacy of the Mahrattas against the common enemy. On the 4th of February, Sindia crossed the Nerbuddah with a large army, and on the 23d, encamped at Boorhanpoor. Here he was followed by Colonel Collins, the British envoy, who was sent for the purpose of again inviting him to become a party to the treaty of Bassein. To gain time, Sindia at first evaded discussion; but, on being pressed by Colonel Collins, he declined entering into the defensive alliance; declaring at the same time, that he had no wish to obstruct the execution of the treaty between the Peishwa and the British Government, towards whom he professed the most amicable intentions. These professions were from the first deceitful. Both Ragojee Bhonslay and himself were actively preparing for war, and Bajee Row continued in constant correspondence with them, secretly encouraging their views.

Although the Governor-General professedly gave credit to Sindia for sincerity, and was certainly duped by the treacherous Peishwa, he saw the necessity of preparing for a probable contest. As early as the month of November preceding, the Governor of Fort

* Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. iii., pp. 226—228. In every thing relating to the Mahratta history, from their origin down to 1819, this able work, compiled chiefly from native MS. histories and state papers, is the best authority. We regret not having consulted it in the earlier part of our narrative, but have discovered no material discrepancies.

St. George had received intimations which led him to assemble a considerable army at Hurryhur, on the Mysore frontier, which, under the character of an army of observation, might be ready to be employed as events should determine. The Governor of Bombay received, in like manner, instructions to hold in readiness the disposable force of that Presidency; and the subsidiary force at Hyderabad was directed to be placed in a similar state of preparation. On the 25th of March, the whole of the Hyderabad force, consisting of six battalions of infantry, with two regiments of native cavalry, under the command of Colonel Stevenson, together with 15,000 of the Nizam's troops, took up a station at Poorindah, near the Peishwa's eastern frontier. The Hon. Major-General Wellesley was detached from the main army, assembled at Hurryhur, with 8000 infantry and 1700 cavalry, together with 2500 horse belonging to the Rajah of Mysore, having orders to co-operate with Colonel Stevenson in accomplishing the Peishwa's restoration. On the 12th of April, General Wellesley crossed the Toongbuddra; and on the banks of the Kistna, he was joined by some of the chief *jagheerdars* among the southern Mahrattas. On approaching Poonah, he made a march of sixty miles, through a rugged country, in thirty-two hours, and reached that city with his cavalry on the 20th. Colonel Stevenson, in the mean time, arrived at Gardoon, on the Beema. General Wellesley's object in advancing so rapidly, was to save the city of Poonah, which it was supposed that Amrut Row intended to burn; but he had retired many hours before the arrival of the British troops. Holkar was already on his retreat towards Malwah, but intelligence having reached Colonel Stevenson, that he had levied a contribution on Aurungabad, and plundered some of the

Nizam's villages, that officer advanced towards the Godavery, for the protection of the country. Amrut Row retreated to Sungumnere, plundering the towns and villages on his route; then, turning on Nassuck, he attacked and defeated a body of troops in the interest of the Peishwa, and took up his residence for some time in that neighbourhood. Eventually, he entered into terms with the British General, and served in the war which ensued, with a body of horse. A pension of eight *laks* of rupees was the liberal reward of his unimportant services.*

The Peishwa, escorted by a body of 2,300 infantry, arrived from Bassein, and resumed his seat on the *musnud* on the 13th of May. Sindia still occupied his position near Boorhanpoor, and the Berar Rajah was preparing to join him. Every endeavour was used by them to induce Holkar to take part in the confederacy; and that wily chief, who was carrying on at the same time a negotiation with the Peishwa, through the British Resident, affected to listen to their overtures. By this means, he obtained the release of his nephew, Khundee Row, whom Sindia held captive, the restoration of his family territory in Malwah, and a promise that all his rights in Hindostan should be recognised. It was the interest of the British Government to conciliate Holkar, but the Peishwa could not be induced to listen to any mediation in his favour. When the confederates urged Holkar to unite his army with theirs in the Deccan, he excused himself by asking, who was to take care of Hindostan, and immediately retired to Malwah, with the design of being guided by the issue of events. In the upper provinces,

* At the end of the war, he retired to Benares, where he still enjoyed his pension a few years ago.—Grant Duff, vol. iii., p.231.

General Lake was at the head of a large army, charged with instructions from the Governor-General, in the event of war, to occupy the whole of the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to take possession of Delhi, Agra, and a chain of posts on the right bank of the Jumna, from the mountains of Kumaoon to Bundelcund.

As soon as the Governor-General became satisfied, from the evasive replies of Sindia to the demands for explanation, that hostilities were meditated, he invested his brother, General Wellesley, with full powers, military and political, for either negotiation or war. Sindia had told the Resident, in terms which might certainly seem to partake of menace or insult, that as soon as he should have had an interview with Rughoojee Bhonslay, the Resident should be informed "whether it would be peace or war." On the 4th of July, the Resident obtained an interview with both the confederates in the tent of the Berar Rajah, at which they jointly affirmed their sincere disposition to cultivate the friendship of the British Government, and declared that they had no design to oppose any engagements into which the Peishwa had entered, although they complained that he did not consult them before concluding so important a treaty. These professions, which were evidently made with the view of gaining time, ill accorded with the hostile and menacing position which they occupied on the frontier of the Nizam's territory; and General Wellesley addressed a letter to Sindia, proposing, as a test of the friendly declarations of the two chiefs, that they should respectively withdraw their armies, while he would then direct the British troops to retire also within their own territories. "This plain and distinct proposal, so characteristic of its author, per-

plexed the Mahratta chiefs, as there was no evading compliance, except by a subterfuge too palpable to be overlooked or justified. After much discussion, it was finally rejected; and the Resident withdrew from their camp on the 3d of August, which was considered as a declaration of war." *

The British forces assembled in different quarters of India, amounted at this period to nearly 50,000 men. The army in the Deccan and Gujerat, amounted to 35,600 men: of these, 3595 were left for the protection of Hyderabad and Poonah; 7826 formed the covering army under General Stuart, between the Kistna and the Toongbuddra; the advanced force under General Wellesley, including Colonel Stevenson's detachment, amounted to 16,850 men; and in Gujerat, there were 7352 men, of whom, after providing for the garrisons, 4280 were available for field service, under the orders of Colonel Murray. In Hindostan, 10,500 men were collected under General Lake; 3500 men were assembled at Allahabad, to act on the side of Bundelcund; and 5216 were destined for the invasion of Kuttack.

The armies of Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay were estimated at about 100,000 men, of whom about half were cavalry; 30,000 were regular infantry and artillery, commanded by Europeans; and the rest consisted of matchlock-men, rocket-men, and some half disciplined corps in the service of the Berar Rajah. Of the regular infantry, ten or twelve thousand were with Sindia in the Deccan; and in Hindostan, his army, under the command of M. Perron, (including a reinforcement on its way from the south,) amounted to sixteen or seventeen thousand regular infantry, and

* Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 233.

from fifteen to twenty thousand horse, of whom about a fourth were regular cavalry. Besides these, Shumsher Bahadur, who took part in the confederacy against the English, mustered about 12,000 men in Bundelcund.

General Wellesley was encamped at the village of Walkee, eight miles south of Ahmednuggur, when, on the 6th of August, he received accounts of the unsuccessful termination of the Resident's negotiation with the confederates.* He was prevented by heavy rain from moving till the 8th, on which day he commenced hostilities by marching against Ahmednuggur; and the *pettah*, though obstinately defended by a body of Arabs and one of Sindia's regular battalions, was taken by escalade. A battery was opened upon the fortress on the 10th; and on the 12th, the *kelledar* capitulated, on condition of marching out with the private property and arms of the garrison. This acquisition was of considerable importance as a point of support to all future operations to the northward. The fortress, one of the strongest in India, was in good repair, on the frontier of the Nizam, and covering Poonah. It had acquired consequence also, as having once been the capital of the Nizam Shahee kingdom. A respectable garrison was left in the fort, and the revenues of the district, being collected by an agent of the British Government, were applied to defraying the expenses of the war.

These arrangements occupied several days. On the 24th, General Wellesley crossed the Godavery, and on the 29th, reached Aurungabad, where he learned that the enemy, having avoided Colonel Stevenson, had

* "On the same day, Nizam Ally died at Hyderabad; an event long expected, and which was attended by no commotion or change, except the accession of his son, Mirza Secundur Jah, to the soubahship of the Deccan."—Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 236.

ascended the Ajunta Ghaut, and encamped at Jaulna, about forty miles eastward. On hearing of General Wellesley's arrival at Aurungabad, they moved off in a south-easterly direction, intending, it was supposed, to march upon Hyderabad. To defeat this intention, as well as to protect his own convoys of grain, which were on their way from the covering army under General Stuart, General Wellesley regained the Godavery, and moved eastward along its left or northern bank. The Mahrattas soon altered their course, and counter-marched to the north of Jaulna. On the 2d of September, Colonel Stevenson, returning from the eastward, attacked and carried that fortress, which has since been made the head-quarters of the Hyderabad subsidiary force. After this, while the General was waiting the junction of his convoys, this officer made several attempts to bring the enemy to action; and on the night of the 9th, he succeeded in partially surprising their camp. On the 21st, the whole Mahratta army, having been joined by sixteen battalions of Sindia's regular infantry, encamped between the village of Bokerdun and Jaffeirabad. On the same day, General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson met at Budnapoor, and concerted a plan for attacking the enemy jointly on the 24th. Colonel Stevenson accordingly marched by a western route, while the General passed to the eastward, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna.

On the 23d, on reaching the village of Naulnye, where he was about to encamp, General Wellesley learned from his spies, that the confederate armies were encamped on the Kailna river, within six miles of him; and he moved out in person at the head of the picquets, to reconnoitre. "In a short time, on

ascending a rising ground, the host of the confederates was seen extending in a vast line along the opposite bank of the Kailna river, near its junction with the Juah. Their army amounted to upwards of 50,000 men, of whom more than 30,000 were horse, and 10,500 were regular infantry, supported by upwards of one hundred guns. The handful of British troops which now moved straight down upon this formidable array, did not exceed 4500 men; but the general sentiment was that of their commander,—'they cannot escape us.' As General Wellesley drew nearer the enemy's line, he found their right composed entirely of cavalry, and that their cannon and infantry, which it was his object to take and destroy, were on their left, near the village of Assaye. He therefore moved round, and passed the Kailna river at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, forming his infantry into two lines, and his cavalry, as a reserve, in a third, with his right towards the Juah, and his left on the Kailna. The horse belonging to the Peishwa and the Rajah of Mysore, accompanying General Wellesley, formed at a distance across the Kailna, but had little or no share in the conflict.* The position thus occupied by the British, between the two rivers and near their junction, not only brought them upon their object, but was of importance in diminishing the front of the enemy, who changed their position as the British turned the flank of their old ground; they were now drawn up in two lines, one of them fronting the British troops, the other running at a right angle to their first line, with

* "Just before the battle commenced, intelligence was brought to General Wellesley, that the Peishwa's troops intended to join Sindia in attacking him. That they would have done so in the event of a reverse, is not improbable."

the left of both resting on the fortified village of Assaye. In this situation, as the British lines were forming, the Mahrattas opened a heavy cannonade.* The whole line, without artillery, (the guns having been disabled,) was exposed to a dreadful fire of round and grape; the ranks of the 74th regiment were completely thinned, and a large body of the Mahratta horse charged them. The order being given for the advance of the British cavalry, the 19th light dragoons, who drew only 360 swords, received the intimation with one loud huzza. Accompanied by the 4th native cavalry, who emulated their conduct throughout this arduous day, the 19th passed through the broken but invincible 74th, whose very wounded joined in cheering them as they went on, cut in and routed the horse, and dashed on at the infantry and guns. Never did cavalry perform better service, or contribute more to the success of a battle. The British infantry likewise pressed forward; the enemy's first line gave way, fell back on their second, and the whole were forced into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. The fugitives, on gaining the opposite bank, were followed, charged, and broken by the cavalry; but some of their corps formed again, and went off in good order. One large body of this description was routed and pursued by the British cavalry, on which occasion Colonel Maxwell, who commanded them, was killed. As the British line advanced, they passed many individuals of the enemy, who either appeared to have submitted, or lay apparently dead. These persons, rising up,

* "The picquets on the right were for a time halted, and the officer in command of them, when urged to advance, sent word, that the guns were disabled, and the bullocks killed. General Wellesley received the message with the utmost composure, and coolly replied, 'Well, tell him to get on without them.'".

turned their guns on the rear of the British line; and after the more important points of the victory were secured, it was some time before the firing thus occasioned could be silenced.* The enemy's horse hovered round for some time; but, when the last body of infantry was broken, the battle was completely decided, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the victors. The loss was severe; upwards of one-third of the British troops lay dead or wounded; but they had, considering the circumstances, achieved a triumph more splendid than any recorded in Deccan history. Of the enemy, 1200 were killed, and the whole neighbourhood was covered with their wounded. Rughoojee Bhonslay fled from the field in the commencement of the action, and Sindia soon followed his example. The whole of the horse behaved in the most dastardly manner. Sindia's infantry, although defeated by such a disparity of troops, did not altogether sully their high reputation. The artillery-men stood to the last, and eight of the old battalions of De Boigne fought with ardour and firmness."†

* "The General thought it necessary to take a regiment of European infantry and one of native cavalry, and proceeded in person to stop this fire, which for some time was very severe. His horse, in this operation, was shot under him."—Mill, vi. 430.

† Grant Duff, iii. 240—243. General De Boigne, who, after a series of vicissitudes, entered into Sindia's service about A. D. 1784, had been the principal instrument, by his military talents, of extending the power of that chief. The officers of his battalions were Europeans of all nations, many of them British, and men respectable by birth, education, and character. De Boigne, on returning to Europe in 1796, from bad health, was succeeded by M. Perron, originally a petty officer under Admiral Suffrein, who had also, after various adventures, entered into the service of Sindia. A brief account of De Boigne is given in Mill, vi. 397—401; but more correctly, from information personally furnished by

Colonel Stevenson was unable to join General Wellesley till the evening of the 24th, when he was immediately detached in pursuit of the enemy, whose regular infantry retired across the Nerbuddah; but the main body proceeded westward along the bank of the Taptee, as if they meditated a descent upon Poonah by the Kassarbharee Ghaut. Under this supposition, General Wellesley remained on the southern side of the Ajunta Ghaut, while he directed Colonel Stevenson to continue his march to the northward, and attack Boorhanpoor and Asseerghur. The former city was evacuated at his approach, and was entered by the British troops on the 15th of October. On the 17th, he marched upon Asseerghur, the importance of which, in the estimation of the natives, may be inferred from the name by which it was distinguished, the Key of the Deccan. The *pettah* was attacked and taken on the 18th. On the 20th, the batteries were opened against the fort, and, within an hour, the garrison offered to accept the conditions which the British commander had proposed on summoning the place. In this manner the fortress was placed in the hands of the British on the 21st, and with it, the whole of Sindia's dominions in the Deccan. The dependent districts in Kandeish were placed under the temporary management of revenue-officers of the Hyderabad state.

The operations of the army were now turned against Berar. Colonel Stevenson began an easterly movement towards Sindia, and received the commands of

the General, in Grant Duff, ii. 476—480, iii. 35, *et passim*. Most of Sindia's battalions laboured under serious disadvantages, through the secession of the British part of their European officers, who, in consequence of a politic proclamation by the British Government, quitted the Mahrattas at the breaking out of the war, on being offered the same pay that they enjoyed with Sindia.—Ib. iii. 244.

his General to prosecute his march as far as Gawilghur, and lay siege to that fortress, the principal one belonging to the Rajah. In the mean time, the confederates, having separated, had marched in different directions, with a view to interrupt Colonel Stevenson's operations. The Rajah of Berar took the route of the Unkye Tunkye pass, and moved towards the Godavery. He was followed by General Wellesley, who passed Aurungabad on the 29th, and arrived in the neighbourhood of his camp. So apprehensive was the Rajah of a night attack, that he moved his camp five times within less than forty-eight hours. On the 31st, he detached 5000 horse to cut off a convoy of 14,000 bullock-loads of grain, escorted by three companies of sepoys and a party of Mysore horse, under Captain Baynes, who made a spirited defence at the village of Amber, and brought in the whole of his convoy, with the exception of about 200 bullocks. After this, finding that Rughoojee was moving towards his own territories, General Wellesley once more returned to the northward, and descended the Ghauts at Rajoora, for the purpose of supporting and covering the operations of Colonel Stevenson against Gawilghur.

Previously to this period, several overtures for peace, of an unsatisfactory nature, had been made to General Wellesley in Sindia's name. Ballajee Koonjur, the Peishwa's most confidential agent, who, notwithstanding the war, continued in Sindia's camp, sent a letter, fifteen days after the battle of Assaye, requesting that one of the British and one of the Nizam's officers should be sent to settle terms of pacification; but, as he was not an accredited agent, and as the appearance of a British officer in the enemy's camp would have enabled the Mahratta chiefs to represent the British as supplicants for peace, General Wellesley refused

compliance; he expressed at the same time his readiness to receive any envoy that the confederates might depute. After some other indirect proposals, in the first week of November, Jeswunt Row Ghorepuray, accompanied by a Brahmin, arrived in the British camp, commissioned, as they said, by Sindia, to treat with General Wellesley; but they also were unprovided with credentials, and Sindia afterwards sent a letter disavowing their mission. As General Wellesley was nevertheless convinced that they had been deputed, and that the only duplicity was on the part of Sindia, he allowed them to remain in the camp, to wait the result of their application to their master for the requisite powers, which he at length thought proper to send. These, however, did not authorise the envoys to make any cessions of territory in compensation to the British Government, which was required as the basis of the pacification, and no negotiation could proceed. Ghorepuray then solicited an armistice. This was granted on the 23d of November, as far as regarded Sindia, on condition that he should occupy a position twenty *koss* east of Elichpoor, and forage still further to the eastward; but it was refused to Rughoojee Bhonslay, because he had sent no envoy, nor expressed any desire for peace.

The main army of the Berar Rajah was encamped at Argaum, near Gawilghur, under the command of his brother, Venkajee Munya Bappoo; and Sindia's cavalry were at Sersowly, within about five miles of him. Colonel Stevenson had advanced as far as Hattee Anderah, on the 28th of November, when, being apprised of the position of the enemy and the approach of General Wellesley, he halted to enable both divisions of the British army to co-operate in the attack. They joined, on the 29th, at a place within

sight of the enemy's camp. The *vakeels* of Sindia had urgently dissuaded General Wellesley from attacking Venkajee, but were told, that there was no armistice with the Berar Rajah, nor had Sindia complied with the terms of the agreement. Upon the approach of the British, the enemy retired; and as the troops had performed a very long march on a very hot day, the General had no intention of pursuing them. Bodies of Mahratta horse were in a little time observed in front; and on pushing forward the picquets for taking up the ground of encampment, the army of the confederates was descried, at the distance of six miles, drawn up in line on the plain in front of Argaum. Late as it was in the day, the General resolved to attack, and marched on in column until near the enemy, when he formed his army into two lines; the infantry in the first, and the cavalry in the second. Some confusion occurred in forming the lines, when the Mahratta guns first opened upon them; but, as soon as formed, the whole advanced with steadiness and order. A body of about 500 infantry, supposed to have been Persians, who rushed with desperation on the 74th and 78th regiments, were destroyed to a man; while a battalion on the left received and repulsed a charge of Sindia's cavalry, in which their commander was wounded. Upon this, the whole army retired in disorder, pursued by the British cavalry, leaving behind them thirty-eight pieces of cannon, with their ammunition. In this action, the total loss of the British was 346 men, killed, wounded, and missing.

The British army next invested Gawilghur. This fortress stands upon a lofty point of a ridge of mountains, between the sources of the Poonah river and of the Taptee. The march of Colonel Stevenson's divi-

sion, who were equipped for this purpose, was attended with almost insuperable difficulties. From Elichpoor, the heavy ordnance and stores had to be dragged by hand, over mountains and through ravines, for nearly thirty miles, by roads which it had been previously necessary for the troops to make. On the sixth day, (December 12,) Colonel Stevenson reached his ground, and at night erected two batteries in front of the north face of the outer fort. On the same night, the troops of General Wellesley, who had gone round by a different route with all the cavalry, constructed a battery on the mountain, under the southern gate, but it was found impossible to get up the heavy guns. On the evening of the 14th, the breaches in the outer fort were practicable, and it was stormed on the ensuing morning. The inner fort was escaladed by the light company of the 94th, headed by Colonel Campbell, who immediately opened the gate. After this, the garrison made no resistance.

While these successes attended the British arms in the south, the other objects of the campaign had been accomplished by transactions of equal importance. A detachment of the Bombay army, under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington, had effected the conquest of all Sindia's territories in Gujerat. The fortified town of Baroach was stormed and captured on the 29th of August. The town of Champaneer was taken by assault shortly after; and the strong hill-fort of Powanghur, by which it is defended, surrendered on the 17th of September.

In the north, affairs of still greater consequence had taken place. The first object to which General Lake had been commanded to direct the operations of the war, was the destruction of Sindia's force under

General Perron. On the 7th of August, the Commander-in-chief marched from Cawnpore; and on the 29th, the army came in sight of the enemy's cavalry, who were found encamped at Coel, near the fort of Alighur. After a trifling skirmish, they retired as the British advanced; the town of Coel was taken possession of, and Alighur was summoned, but M. Pedron, the governor, refused to surrender. Much dependence was placed on this fort, which was the ordinary residence of M. Perron. It is very strong, situated on a plain, surrounded with swamps, having a good glacis, with a ditch thirty-two feet deep and two hundred feet wide. It was well garrisoned, fully provided with cannon, ammunition, and stores; and the Mahrattas had reason to expect that it would sustain a long siege. The only passage into the fort was by a narrow causey across the ditch, for which the French commandant, by gross neglect, had omitted to substitute a draw-bridge. General Lake, apprised of this circumstance, determined to hazard an attack by the gateway; and one of the British officers who had come over from Sindia's service, offered to conduct the storming party. The first gate, it was found necessary to blow open; and during the delay which this occasioned, the troops were exposed to a raking fire. The second was easily forced; the third was entered with the fugitives; but the fourth and last, which opened immediately into the body of the place, resisted even the application of a twelve-pounder. In this extremity, Major M'Leod pushed through the wicket with the grenadiers, and mounted the ramparts. Opposition soon ceased, and the British, by extraordinary bravery and good fortune, found themselves masters of the fortress, with the loss of 278 men killed and wounded,

including seventeen European officers. Of the garrison, about 2000 perished; many by jumping into the ditch, where they were drowned.

In the mean time, 5000 of the Mahratta cavalry which had retired from Coel, under the command of a Frenchman named Fleury, had successfully attacked a cantonment of the British army at Shekoabad. The detachment, being nearly destitute of ammunition, had been compelled to capitulate, on permission of retiring with their arms, before the reinforcement sent by General Lake could arrive. The enemy then crossed the Jumna, and disappeared.

M. Perron, who had for some time been losing ground in Sindia's favour,* and had in consequence made some overtures to General Lake before the commencement of the war, proceeded, after the affair at Coel, to Muttra, where he received certain accounts of his being superseded in the command by his personal enemy, Ambajee Inglia, who was intriguing to deprive him also of his *jagheer*. Under these circumstances, he addressed a letter to General Lake, on the 5th of September, announcing his withdrawment from the Mahratta service, and requesting permission to pass with his effects, his family, and the officers of his suite, through the Company's territories, to Lucknow; with which request, General Lake, under instructions from the Governor-General, yielded a ready compliance.

On the 7th of September, Gen. Lake marched from Alighur towards Delhi, and on the 11th, encamped within six miles of that city. Scarcely were the tents

* Sindia was either jealous of Perron, or distrustful of him; and the native officers had long been intriguing to supersede him. M. Perron alleged as an additional reason for leaving his service, that "the treachery and ingratitude of his European officers convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless."

pitched, when the enemy unexpectedly appeared in front. M. Louis Bourquin, the officer next in rank to Perron, hearing of the advance of the British towards Delhi, and that a part of the army was detached in pursuit of Fleury, crossed the Jumna with twelve battalions of regular infantry and 5000 cavalry, for the purpose of attacking General Lake, whose force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to about 4500 men. Bourquin took up a strong position, on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank, and his front defended by entrenchments and artillery, consisting of seventy pieces of cannon, which were concealed by high grass. General Lake, in advancing to reconnoitre, became exposed to a heavy and destructive fire. The line of British infantry were immediately ordered on, but it was a considerable time before they came up,* and General Lake, in the interim, practised a successful feint, by retiring with the cavalry. The enemy, mistaking it for a retreat, followed them, shouting as if secure of victory. The British cavalry, however, retired with the utmost steadiness and order, till joined by the infantry, when, opening from the centre, they allowed the infantry to pass to the front. The enemy now halted, and began a tremendous fire of grape, round, and canister; but the British troops moved on steadily without returning a shot, until they were within one hundred yards. They were then ordered to fire a volley and charge bayonets. Sindia's infantry could not withstand the fury of their onset, but, abandoning their guns, fled with precipitation. The British line then broke into open columns of companies, and the cavalry charging

* In Mr. Mill's account, it is said, that an hour elapsed, during which the cavalry were exposed to a severe cannonade, and General Lake had his horse shot under him.

through the intervals, completed the victory. The enemy were pursued with slaughter to the banks of the Jumna, in which numbers perished. The total loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3000; that of the British, at 585, including fifteen European officers.

After being seventeen hours under arms, the British army took up fresh ground towards the river, and next morning, encamped opposite to the city of Delhi. Three days afterwards, Bourquin and five other French officers surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Both the city and fort of Delhi had been evacuated by the enemy; and the unfortunate Shah Allum had sent a message to the British General, expressing his desire to place himself under his protection. On the 10th, General Lake paid his respects to the fallen emperor, and condescended to receive from the representative of the House of Timour, the second title in the empire, —an empire which existed only in history; "*Sumsam ud Dowlah*, *Ashgar ul Mulk*, *Khan Douran*, General Gerard Lake, *Bahadur*, *Futteh-jung*."*

General Lake next marched against Agra, which he summoned, but received no answer. The garrison had been under the command of British officers, who, on the breaking out of the war, were confined by their own troops. The greatest confusion now prevailed within the fort. Seven battalions of Sindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis, but the garrison were afraid to admit them, lest they should plunder a rich treasury, which they wished to reserve for themselves. General Lake resolved to beat up the quarters of the seven battalions in the first instance; and he gave orders for attacking both the town and

* "The Sword of the State, the Hero of the Land, the Lord of the Age, the Victorious in War."—Mill, vol. vi. pp. 414—20. Duff, vol. iii. pp. 250—252. See also pp. 358, 9 of our first volume.

the adjacent ravines in which they were posted, on the 10th of October. The attack succeeded completely, though not without a severe conflict; and three days afterwards, 2500 of those who remained, came over in a body, and were admitted into the British service. The siege of the fort was now commenced, and breaching batteries had been opened, when the garrison applied to the imprisoned officers to make terms for them. On the 18th, they were permitted to evacuate the fort with their private property; but the treasury and arsenal, with 162 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors.

While this affair was going on, the detachment of Sindia's Deccan army, which he had sent to reinforce his army in the north, consisting of seven regular battalions of infantry, had joined three of Bourquin's battalions, and, together with the remains of the Delhi army, they now amounted to about 9000 men. They had a very superior equipment of artillery; were accompanied by twelve or fifteen hundred good horse; and had occupied a position about thirty miles in the rear of the British, during the siege of Agra, but without attempting to interrupt it. They were supposed to have in view a march upon Delhi, with a view to the recovery of that capital. On the 27th of October, General Lake proceeded in quest of them. As he advanced with the cavalry by rapid marches, they retired towards the hills of the Mewat. On the 1st of November, having marched twenty-five miles during the night, he came up with the enemy; but, instead of being in disorderly retreat, as was at first imagined, they were found strongly posted; their right on the village of Laswaree, partially protected by a deep ravine, and their left on the village of Mohaulpore. In their rear was a deep rivulet, and their front was

lined with seventy-five pieces of cannon, chained together, the more effectually to resist the charge of horse. The whole was concealed by very high grass. General Lake resolved to attack them immediately; but, although his orders were executed in the most spirited manner, and with partial success, the loss was so severe, owing to the galling fire of cannon and musketry, that he was compelled to draw off his brigades, and wait the arrival of the infantry. The Mahratta troops, in the mean time, changed their position, and drew up in two lines; one in front, the other in rear of the village of Mohaulpore. On the arrival of the infantry, a proposal was received from the enemy, offering, on certain conditions, to surrender their guns. The British General, eager to stop the effusion of blood, accepted the proposal, and an hour was given to fulfil the terms, which allowed the infantry some time for refreshment. The time for parley being expired, General Lake prepared to renew the attack. His object was, to turn the flank of the enemy's position; but, as soon as the advance of the British columns for that purpose was perceived, the enemy frustrated the movement by throwing back their left wing, so as to form an acute angle in front with their former position; covering the manœuvre with a heavy cannonade, which did severe execution on the front of the British column. The British artillery returned the fire with good effect; but the enemy's cannon were far superior in number and weight of metal, and equally well served. The ground being much broken, the advance was greatly impeded by that circumstance; and the ranks of the 76th were so much thinned, that General Lake deemed it better to hasten on the attack with that regiment and a battalion of sepoys, than to wait till the remainder of the column

should be able to form. When they arrived within reach of the canister-shot, the execution became so severe as to prevent a regular advance, and the Mahratta horse were encouraged to charge. They came on, were heroically repulsed by this "handful of heroes," but rallied at a little distance, and resumed a menacing posture; when the General ordered the British cavalry to charge in turn. This service was gallantly performed by the 29th dragoons, who dashed through both lines of the enemy's infantry, wheeled round upon their cavalry, and, after driving them from the field, turned upon the rear of their second line. That line was by this time hotly engaged with the British infantry, who, taking advantage of the gallant charge made by their cavalry, had rushed forward on the guns, taken possession of them, and driven the first line back upon the second. The whole of the British troops had now come up, and joined in the attack; but the hardy veterans of De Boigne's regiments fought on with brave, though unavailing obstinacy; and, excepting about 2000, who were broken, surrounded, and made prisoners, they fell with their arms in their hands.* The victory of Laswaree cost the British, 172 men killed, 652 wounded.† It completed the overthrow of the much-dreaded brigades of

* Few, if any of these men, Captain Grant Duff says, were Mahrattas, who have rarely made good infantry: they were chiefly from Oude, Rohilcund, and the Doab.

† The General conducted in person every operation of the day. Two horses were shot under him; and his son, acting as his aide-de-camp, was wounded by his side. "The son had but just persuaded the father to mount his horse, after one of his own had fallen under him, pierced by several shot, when he himself was struck by a ball; and at that instant, the father was obliged to lead on the troops, leaving his wounded son upon the field."—Mill, vol. vi. p. 426.

De Boigne and Perron, and placed Agra and Delhi, with all Sindia's districts north of the Chumbul, in the power of the British Government. *

The conquest of the province of Kuttak, which separated the Company's dominions in Bengal from the Northern Circars, was accomplished by detachments of the Madras and Bengal forces, under Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt. The troops marched from Ganjam on the 8th of September, and took possession of Manikpatam, without resistance, on the 14th. The Brahmins of the temple of Juggernaut placed their pagoda under the protection of the British; and the town of Kuttak was surrendered on the arrival of the army, on the 10th of October, the rains not having permitted an earlier advance. In the mean time, another British detachment had landed at Ballasore, on the 21st of September, and taken possession of the place. Soorrung was captured on the 3d of October; and the fall of Barabuttee, the fort of Kuttak, on the 14th, completed the reduction of the whole province.

The Bundelcund was subdued with equal celerity. In regard to this territory, a new arrangement had been made with the Peishwa in August, by which he ceded to the Company the greater part of his rights in it, in lieu of Savanore and Benkapore, in the southern Mahratta country, and Oolpar, in the neighbourhood of Surat, which were among the cessions made by the treaty of Bassein. Himmut Bahadur, one of Sindia's ex-officers, had tendered his services to the British, to assist them in the conquest of Bundelcund; and his offer being accepted, he joined the British detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Powell, on the 16th of September, with a force of about 14,000 men. On the

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 253—257.

10th of October, after reducing several forts, the united forces crossed the river Cane, and on the 13th, came up with the army of Shumsher Bahadur. After a feeble resistance, the enemy gave way, fled across the river Betwah, and retired from the province.

The Mahratta chieftains were now eager to escape, by negotiation, the ruin which their arms were unable to avert. On the evening of the 30th of November, the day after the battle of Argaum, a *vakeel* arrived at the British camp, bearing a letter from Ragojee Bhonslay to General Wellesley. After repeated conferences and long discussions respecting the true origin of the war and the terms of pacification, it was finally agreed, that the Berar Rajah should cede to the Company the province of Kuttak, including Ballasore; also, to the Nizam, the whole of the territory between the Hyderabad frontier and the river Wurda in the south; and, on the northern frontier, the country south of the hills on which stand the forts of Nernulla and Gawilghur. The latter districts had formed, originally, a part of the Soubah of the Deccan; but the Mahrattas had established over it a claim, at first to one-fifth, and, at length, by gradual encroachments, to four-fifths of the revenues.* All claims to *chout*, &c., on the Nizam, were, of course, now renounced; all differences between the Nizam, the Peishwa, and the Sena Sahib Soubah (the Rajah's title), were to be arbitrated by the British Government; and no European or American of any nation at war with the English, nor any British subject, was to be entertained in the Rajah's service without the consent of the Governor-General. Such was the substance of

* Though an extensive and fertile country, it was not, however, computed, that the Rajah annually realized from it more than thirty *laks* of rupees.

the principal articles of the treaty of Deogaum. Accredited ministers from the contracting parties, were to reside at each other's court; and the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, Persian interpreter on the staff of General Wellesley's army, was appointed Resident at Nagpoor.

The negotiations with Dowlut Row Sindia were not so promptly terminated. It was not till the 8th of December, that, after trying every means of evasion and procrastination, he submitted to the terms imposed upon him by the conquerors. The treaty was concluded on the 30th, at Surjee Anjengaum, by which the Maharajah ceded all his rights of sovereignty in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to the northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Gohud; also, the forts of Ahmedabad and Baroach in Gujerat, with their districts; all his possessions between the Ajunta Ghaut and the Godavery; together with all claims upon the British Government, Shah Allum, the Peishwa, the Nizam, or Anund Row Gaekwar. Provision was made for the independence of such Rajahs or Jagheerdars in the region of the Jumna, as had formerly been subject to Sindia, but had entered into engagements with the English during the war. Of these, it was the policy of the Governor-General to form a sort of barrier against any future aggression of the Mahratta powers. The city of Boorhanpore, and the forts of Asseerghur, Powanghur, and Gohud, with their dependencies, were restored to Sindia; who was also allowed to retain certain lands in the vicinity of Ahmednuggur, the districts of Dholpoor-Baree and Raj-kerrah in Delhi, which had been granted to him by Shah Allum, together with certain other *jagheers* belonging to his family or immediate dependents. He

readily entered into the same agreement in regard to the subjects of other powers, as had been admitted by Ragojee Bhonslay; and Major Malcolm was appointed to act as Resident in his camp. It was left to the option of Sindia, whether to become a party to the defensive alliance, by accepting a subsidiary British force, payable from the revenues of the territories already ceded.* Of this condition, his jealousy of Holkar led him subsequently to avail himself, by a treaty concluded with the Resident in February following.

The minor princes and chiefs who, by treaties with General Lake, had become allies of the British Government, were, the Rajahs of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Boondee, and Macherry, the Jhât Rajah of Bhurtpoor, the Rana of Gohud, and the Mahratta officer, Ambajee Inglia. With the first five of these, the treaties of alliance guaranteed their territory against external enemies, with immunity from tribute; but they were to defray the expense of the aid which they might require in case of invasion; and Europeans were not to be received into their service without the consent of the British Government. The Rana of Gohud had been dispossessed of his territories by Sindia; and Ambajee, who had succeeded M. Perron, was *mamlitdar*, or renter of the province. It was now determined to make a partition of the territory, in sovereignty, between him and the Rana, reserving the fort and city of Gwalior to the Company. Both parties submitted to the same conditions respecting mutual defence, as in the case of the other princes;

* Mr. Mill contends, that this subsidiary alliance was not subsidiary, because the Governor-General stipulated to pay and maintain the troops wholly at the Company's expense. The fact was, that the territory for their maintenance was taken beforehand.

but the Rana was to subsidize three battalions of sepoys. The treaties with these two chiefs, however, afterwards became null and void, by the restoration of the country to Sindia.

The Mahrattas were not yet conquered. Holkar, during the progress of hostilities, had remained in Malwah, levying enormous contributions upon friend and foe. He could scarcely credit the accounts he received of the rapid victories of the English; and not till the time for co-operation had gone by, he began to carry into execution his hostile designs, by moving up towards the Jeypoor territory, for the purpose of negotiating for aid from the Rajpoots, the Bhurtpoor Rajah, the Rohillas, and the Seiks. He likewise despatched an envoy to Sindia, recommending him to break the treaty and renew the war; but that chieftain was, at this time, so exasperated against him, that he immediately communicated the fact to the British Resident. Further correspondence of a hostile nature was discovered; and intelligence was received of his having put to death three officers, British subjects, who wished to retire from his service, on pretence of their having corresponded with the English General. Still, it was deemed scarcely credible, that he could intend risking a war; and he was invited to send commissioners to the British camp, for the purpose of coming to an amicable understanding. On the 16th of March, 1804, two *vakeels* arrived at General Lake's head-quarters at Ramghur, charged with demands so extravagant, that they were dismissed with a proper letter to their master. Five or six weeks before this, Holkar had addressed a letter to General Wellesley, in which he demanded the cession of certain districts claimed by his family in the Deccan, as the condition of peace, and concluded in a

strain of vaunting menace.* In the beginning of April, Holkar moved, with the main body of his troops, into Ajmere, a country belonging to Sindia. His pretence was devotion; but he levied contributions, and made an unsuccessful attempt to gain possession of the fort.

In the mean time, the Governor-General, apprised of Holkar's insolent demands and equivocal proceedings, issued orders to Generals Lake and Wellesley to attack his troops and possessions in every direction; and Sindia professed his readiness cordially to co-operate in the reduction of his rival.† On the 18th of April, General Lake sent forward a detachment under Colonel Monson to Jeypoor; on which, Holkar began to retire southward, and continued his flight till he had crossed the Chumbul. The fort of Tonk-Rampoorah, the chief protection of his northern possessions, was stormed and taken on the 16th of May. After this, General Lake withdrew the main army into cantonments for the rainy season, leaving Colonel Monson, as Brigadier-General, to keep Holkar in check with five battalions of sepoys and about 3000 irregular horse. With this force, Monson, intending to co-operate with the Gujerat army under Colonel Mur-

* "Although unable to oppose the British artillery in the field, countries of many *coss*" (he said) "should be overrun, and plundered, and burned; the English should not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities would fall on *laks* of human beings in continued warfare by the attacks of his army, which would overwhelm like the waves of the sea."—Mill, vol. vi. p. 465.

† On this occasion, to justify the fresh war in the opinion of the home authorities, it was, unhappily, deemed necessary again to have recourse to a false plea:—"Jesswunt Rao Holkar being justly considered as an adventurer, and as the *usurper* of the *rights* of his brother, Cashee Rao Holkar, *consistently with the principles of justice*, no arrangement could be proposed," &c.—Governor-General's Letter in Mill, vol. vi. p. 469. Cant worthy of Napoleon!

ray, entered Holkar's territory by the Mokundra pass; and a detachment from his division took the strong hill-fort of Hinglais-ghur by escalade. This brilliant incident was followed by a train of disasters. Without efficient means of supply, Monson imprudently advanced towards the Chumbul until the 7th of July, when he received information that Holkar was crossing that river to attack him with his whole army. He was at the same time staggered by a report, that Colonel Murray was falling back on the Myhie river; and the reflection that he had only two day's grain for the supply of his camp, determined him on retiring to the Mokundra pass. Having resolved on this unfortunate alternative, he began his retreat, on the 8th of July, by sending off his baggage and stores at four o'clock, A.M. No enemy having appeared, the infantry followed at nine, the irregular horse being left on the ground, with orders to follow in half an hour, and to afford the earliest information of Holkar's motions. The detachment had marched about six *koss*, when intelligence was brought, that the irregular horse had been attacked and defeated by Holkar's cavalry, and that Lieutenant Lucan and several other officers were prisoners. The detachment continued its march, and next day, reached, unmolested, the Mokundra pass. On the 10th, a large body of the enemy's cavalry appeared; and a letter arrived from Holkar, summoning them to surrender their arms. A refusal being of course returned, he divided his force into three bodies, and made a vigorous attack on the front and flanks of the British corps. The position and steadiness of the troops, enabled them to sustain reiterated onsets, till, at evening, Holkar drew off to the distance of two *koss*. Monson, not regarding his position as tenable,

and fearing lest the enemy should get in his rear, continued his retreat, and in two marches, though harassed by the enemy, and exposed to very heavy rains, reached Kotah. But the Rajah of that city would neither admit them within the walls, nor supply them with food. Retreat, therefore, became necessary to procure subsistence. The country was now so overflowed that the troops could hardly march; and it was found necessary to spike and abandon the guns, and destroy the ammunition. At length, on the 29th of July, the whole of the detachment, but not without loss from casualties, and after suffering great difficulties, reached Rampoorah, where General Monson was joined by a reinforcement, with supplies sent forward by General Lake. Not judging these supplies sufficient, and expecting to be joined at Kooshalghur by six battalions under one of Sindia's officers, Monson, after a long halt, continued his march to that place. He was pursued by Holkar's cavalry, and was obliged to abandon the whole of his baggage. At Kooshalghur, instead of meeting with an ally in Sindia's officer, he found that the Mahratta had treacherously turned against the British captain posted there; and two companies of sepoys, with a large proportion of the irregular horse, there deserted to Holkar. Having spiked his remaining howitzer, on the 26th, Monson moved out of Kooshalghur, and prosecuted his retreat to Agra, while the persevering enemy continued to harass them, but without making any serious impression. At last, however, in the confusion produced by a very dark night, the troops fairly broke, and fled towards Agra, where the greater part of the fugitives who had escaped the enemy, found an asylum on the 31st.

Holkar, having recruited his army with the wreck of

the forces of Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay, advanced triumphantly to Muttra, at the head of 60,000 horse and 15,000 infantry, supported by 192 guns. That place was abandoned by the British troops at his approach, and parties of the Mahratta horse pushed across the Jumna. But General Lake had already taken energetic measures for repairing these disasters. The Mahrattas who had crossed the Jumna, were driven back; troops were ordered on to Agra with all expedition; and, in the course of a month, the British army again advanced on the enemy. "In a few days, the Mahratta horse began, in their usual manner, to shew themselves in small parties, gradually increasing in numbers; flying before the British cavalry when sent to pursue them, evading every attempt to bring them to action, turning as their pursuers turned, firing their matchlocks, and brandishing their spears; while others stole in upon the flanks and rear, where they at first cut off stragglers and baggage with considerable success. The cruelties committed by Holkar on all who fell into his hands, were barbarous in the extreme. General Lake, instead of making fruitless attempts from a standing camp to bring Holkar's cavalry to action, would, probably, have pushed at his infantry and guns; but he seems to have remained at Muttra for the purpose of collecting supplies. This afforded Holkar an opportunity of attempting an important enterprise, being no other than that of endeavouring to possess himself of the Emperor's person. The plan was well conceived; but it was completely frustrated by the precaution and gallantry of Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, assisted by Lieut.-Colonel Burn, the commandant. The whole of the enemy's infantry and artillery attacked Delhi on the 8th, (the

cavalry being left to engage the attention of the British commander,) and continued the siege until the 14th; during which, though deserted by a party of irregulars attached to the garrison, a small body of British sepoys, ably commanded, made a successful sortie, repelled an assault, and, under incessant fatigue, defended a city ten miles in circumference." *

General Lake, on hearing of this attack, marched to the relief of the capital; but Holkar had already drawn off his infantry, and they were now five days on their march towards the territory of the Jhat Rajah of Bhurtpoor, who had seceded from his alliance with the English. Holkar's cavalry, which had continued to hover round Delhi for some days, on the 29th of October, suddenly crossed the Jumna below Panniput, for the purpose of intercepting Lieut.-Colonel Burn's detachment on his return from Delhi to Sehraunpore; but this design was frustrated by the approach of General Lake at Shaumlee, on the 3rd of November. Holkar now prepared to execute his long meditated threat of wasting the Company's provinces with fire and sword. To leave him no time for the purpose, became the first object. His route lay in a southerly direction, straight down the Doab, in which he pillaged and burned the defenceless villages as he passed along, till he reached the neighbourhood of Deeg, a fort belonging to the Rajah of Bhurtpoor. Here he was found strongly posted by the detachment under Major-General Fraser, who came up with him on the 12th. His infantry were encamped behind an extensive morass and deep tank, with their left on a

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 286, 7. "To encourage the sepoys on this occasion, Col. Ochterlony served out sweet-meats (daily), and promised them half a month's pay as soon as the enemy should be repulsed. He knew them."—*Ib.*

fortified village, and their right on the fort of Deeg, supported by ranges of batteries upwards of two miles in extent, which were deemed impregnable. On the morning of the 13th, the British troops, in two lines, moved on to the attack. The gallant 76th first carried with their bayonets the fortified village; and finding a range of guns immediately under it, charged on, through a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain-shot, supported by the 1st Bengal European regiment and the sepoys. Holkar's infantry abandoned the first range of guns, and retired to the next; but this was instantly charged by the gallant General Fraser, who fell mortally wounded in the operation. The command devolved upon Colonel Monson, under whom the victory was completed, the enemy being compelled to abandon battery after battery, until they were forced into the fort of Deeg.* The loss of the British was severe; no fewer than 643 killed and wounded, including 22 European officers. The enemy's loss was supposed to be about 2000, and 87 pieces of ordnance were taken, among which were 14 which Colonel Monson had lost during his disastrous retreat.

Four days subsequent to this dear-bought victory at Deeg, General Lake, after a most persevering pursuit, came up with Holkar's cavalry at Furrukabad, and falling upon them by surprise, put 3000 of them to the sword.† The explosion of a tumbril, as the

* "During the battle, the Mahratta horse retook the first range, and, for a short time, turned the guns on the rear of the British line; but they were retaken by twenty-eight men of the 76th regiment, headed by Capt. Norford, who lost his life in the performance of this remarkable exploit."—Duff, vol. iii. p. 289.

† From the 31st of October to November 17, Gen. Lake had marched at the rate of twenty-three miles a-day; and during the night and day preceding the attack, his cavalry went upwards of seventy miles in less than twenty-four hours.

British troops approached the Mahratta camp, gave the alarm to Holkar, who fled, with a few followers, in the direction of Deeg, to join the remains of his army. General Lake followed him; and having joined the army before Deeg, the siege of that fortress was commenced. In ten days, a breach was made in a strongly fortified outwork at one of the angles of the city, which was stormed and taken at midnight (December 23), with the loss of 227 men killed and wounded. On the ensuing day and night, the town and citadel were evacuated by the enemy, who betook themselves to Bhurtpoor.

In the mean time, Colonel Murray had advanced from Gujerat into the heart of Holkar's dominions, and, on the 24th of August, taken possession of Indore, his capital; the garrison retiring without opposition. His territory in the Deccan had also been reduced by the capture of all his forts, including Chandore and Galna, which, after a slight resistance, surrendered to a division under Colonel Wallace by the end of October. But the career of Holkar, although in a few weeks his fortunes had undergone so signal a reverse, was not yet destined to close. So long as his infantry could find protection in the city of Bhurtpoor, he was still unconquered: his cavalry, by its rapid movements, could elude all attacks, and supplies were derived from the resources of his ally. He had still, as he expressed it, "his country and his property on the saddle of his horse;" but the Jhat Rajah "must stand or fall with his fort."

Bhurtpoor is a fortified town, nearly eight miles in circumference, every where surrounded with a very high and strong mud wall and bastion, having a wide and deep ditch capable of being rendered unfordable. It was now garrisoned by the whole of the Rajah's

troops, with the remainder of Holkar's infantry. Accustomed only to success, General Lake, without properly reconnoitering the place, and with a very inefficient battering train, commenced the siege on the 4th of January, 1805, by taking possession of a grove which afforded a partial cover to his operations. Here, however, for the first time, the utmost efforts of the British were baffled by the strength and extent of the works, the depth of the ditch, and the numbers and resolution of the besieged. Between the 9th of January and the 20th of March, the British troops were repulsed in four successive assaults, in which the loss amounted to 3,203 killed and wounded, of whom 103 were European officers. The wounded were almost invariably put to death by a sally of the garrison. The Mahratta horse made their appearance daily, endeavouring to obstruct the operations of the siege, and cutting off foragers and stragglers. In addition to Holkar's cavalry, Ameer Khan, an adventurer of Afghan descent, who had found the means of collecting a predatory army, issued from Bundelcund, and made an incursion into the Company's district of Rohilcund. He was, however, overtaken by a detachment of British cavalry, and routed with considerable loss. On the return of the cavalry from this service, General Lake made two attempts to surprise Holkar, in the second of which he was successful: a thousand of the Mahrattas were put to the sword, before they had time to disperse. Their spirit being now completely broken, great numbers deserted their leader, and the more respectable chiefs came over with their followers to the British camp. So completely disheartened were these "active tormentors of Monson's detachment," that they had not courage to fight for their lives, and not one of the British lost

his life in either of these onsets. A few days after, 3000 of the remains of Holkar's infantry were intercepted and defeated with severe loss. To complete Holkar's misfortunes, the Jhat Rajah, discovering the fallacy of the hopes which he had built upon his ally, and dreading the renewal of the siege, (which, for want of stores and provisions, it had been found necessary to suspend,) offered terms to the British General. With these, many concurring reasons induced a compliance, although at the sacrifice of leaving upon the minds of the natives, a lasting impression of the failure of the siege, and a dangerous example of successful resistance. The season was far advanced; the hot winds were dreaded; but, above all, an apprehended rupture with Sindia, rendered an accommodation with the Rajah expedient. As a punishment for his breach of engagement, he agreed to pay 20 *laks* of rupees, and he was deprived, in part, of the advantages secured by the former treaty. These terms were finally settled on the 10th of April, when preparations had already been completed for the renewal of the siege. One of the Rajah's sons was to reside with the British commander as a hostage, until satisfactory proof had been given of his fidelity, when, and not before, the fortress of Deeg was to be restored to him.

Disputes with Sindia had arisen as early as February 1804, previously to the signature of the treaty of subsidiary alliance. They related to the retention of Gwalior and the Gohud territory by the English. Sindia, though compelled to submit, continued to dispute and to remonstrate; and in October, he addressed a letter to the Governor-General, setting forth five articles of grievance, in which he considered himself as ill used by the British Government. At the time of

the date of this letter, (which did not, however, reach Calcutta for four months,) Sindia had moved from Boorhanpoor, and was crossing the Nerbuddah with the professed intent of repairing to Oojein, his capital, agreeably to the requisition of the British authorities. In reality, he took the direction of Bhopal, with the intention, it is supposed, of joining Holkar. In his way, a detachment of his troops plundered Sangur, a city and district belonging to the Peishwa; while a party of his irregulars committed a still grosser outrage, by attacking, plundering, and detaining Mr. Jenkins, the acting Resident, in his camp. For this act, which does not clearly appear to have had his authority,* Sindia subsequently promised to make reparation; and without following it up by any further hostilities, he proceeded towards Narwa. Had he, as was apprehended, taken the route through Bundelcund, there was nothing at that moment to oppose his progress through the heart of the British dominions, to Calcutta itself. On the 22d of March (1805), he officially announced to the British Resident, his resolution to march to Bhurtpoor, for the purpose of *mediating* between the British Government and its allies. He moreover pleaded his pecuniary exigencies as the reason which prevented his returning to effect the settlement of his own country. He was told, that, if he would return to the southward, and employ himself in the seizure of the remaining possessions of Holkar in Malwah, he should be relieved by a certain portion of pecuniary

* Mr. Mill thinks it most probable, that Serjee (Shirzee) Rao Gautka, Sindia's father-in-law and minister, committed the outrage upon the British Resident, with a view to embroil him irremediably with the British Government, and thus to ensure the war to which he found it so difficult to draw the feeble and irresolute mind of his prince.

aid. Sindia pretended to acquiesce, and even marched about eight miles in a retrograde direction, while he sent on a part of his cavalry and all his Pindharees towards Bhurtpoor. The treaty with the Rajah had, however, been concluded previously to their arrival. Sindia's *vakeel* was denied an interview; and the troops, joined by Holkar with the remains of his cavalry, returned to Sindia's camp at Weir, where, together with Ameer Khan and Bappojee Sindia, he met with a cordial reception. For this conduct, Sindia apologised to the British Resident, by pretending that Holkar had accepted his mediation, and had, at his request, abandoned all predatory designs on the British territories.

On the 21st of April, General Lake moved with the whole army towards the position of the now united chiefs, directing the Resident to take the earliest opportunity of quitting Sindia's camp. The news of his approach was sufficient to produce a precipitate retreat to Kotah; but the demand of the Resident to leave the camp, was still evaded. About the beginning of June, the confederates moved towards Ajmere, still detaining the Resident. It appears that Holkar was decidedly for continuing the war, in which opinion he was strenuously supported by Shirzee Rao, Sindia's minister. But the violence of this execrable ruffian* defeated his own purposes; and Holkar was instrumen-

* For an account of this miscreant's atrocious career, the reader may be referred to Grant Duff, v. iii. pp. 140, 153, 167, &c. "His name will be remembered, while Poona exists, with horror and execration." To raise the money for defraying his son-in-law's marriage expenses, the ex-ministers of Nana Furnuwees's party, together with merchants, bankers, and all persons supposed to possess wealth, were dragged forth and scourged, or tortured, till they gave up all their property. Several died in consequence of this treatment.

tal in removing him from power, and placing Ambajee Inglia, whom he had previously pillaged and confined, at the head of Sindia's administration. In this person, Holkar expected to find a willing coadjutor; but his temporising policy, together with the rekindling rivalry of the two chieftains, the consequent separation of their camps, and above all, Sindia's conviction of their inability to contend against the British, paved the way to a pacification, which had now become the primary object of the British cabinet.

As early as Dec. 1803, the Marquis Wellesley had signified to the Court of Directors, his intention to resign the government of India as soon as the negotiations with Dowlut Rao Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay should be conducted to a satisfactory conclusion. The hostilities with Holkar which ensued, induced him to defer the execution of his intentions; and even in March 1805, although he expressed his increasing solicitude, in the declining state of his health, to be relieved from the cares and toils of government, he declared his resolution not to abandon his post, till the tranquillity and order of the British empire in India should be placed on a secure basis. Before this time, however, the protracted warfare and the alarming accumulation of debt which it had entailed, had given rise at home to a popular clamour against his Lordship's administration; and not only the Directors, but even the Ministry participated in the general prejudice, or deemed it prudent to yield to it. The return of the venerable Marquis Cornwallis was solicited by the highest authorities, as if the salvation of the country depended upon his presence. "Although his health was in a very declining state, he caught," says Sir John Malcolm, "with the enthusiasm which belongs to great and good minds, at the prospect of per-

forming one more important service to his country; and he listened, as was natural, with avidity to those who, desirous of the authority of his great name to their plans, represented to him that his presence alone could save from inevitable ruin, the empire which he had before ruled with so much glory."*

Lord Wellesley had been sent to India by the British Government, for the purpose of annihilating the French influence in that country. In the accomplishment of this object, he had, in fact, been almost compelled to attempt, and, by the skill and valour of his generals, had been enabled nearly to effect, the conquest of the whole country. But the conquest of India was a forbidden enterprise. It had been discouraged by the British Legislature, and even branded as criminal. Hence, it was necessary to conceal even from his employers, the real nature and astonishing magnitude of the achievement.† He had been entrusted with a commission which it was impossible to execute without exceeding it; and he was condemned for his success. At the time of his arrival in India, there did not exist a single native government, Mussulman or Mahratta, that was not founded on usurpation, and that of comparatively recent date. Except that of Tippoo, there was not one that was strong enough to control the predatory habits of the population, or to

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 335.

† It has been remarked by a writer in the "Friend of India," that "the man who has gone to India with the design of extending there the conquests of Britain, has been obliged to conceal his intentions with almost as much care as though he meditated designs against his own country; and the man who has most successfully fought his country's battles in the plains of Hindoostan, has seldom been quite free from the apprehension, that his character and fortune, if not his life, might be the forfeit he would have to pay for thus daring to defend the dominions of his native country."—No. xlii., p. 235.

protect the rights of the people.* The voice of humanity almost called upon Great Britain to undertake the most blameless and beneficent usurpation that was ever achieved. But the sordid and timid spirit of a mercantile government opposed what, nevertheless, events forced upon its reluctant adoption. The English had contributed to hasten the decline and destruction of the native monarchies and viceroyalties; and in the anarchy which ensued upon the breaking up of

* Lord Cornwallis, while deprecating the interference exercised by the British Government in the internal administration of the Hyderabad Government, remarks: "His Lordship is aware that this undesirable degree of interference and ascendancy in the counsels of the state of Hyderabad, is to be ascribed to *the gradual decay of the energies of Government; to the defect of efficient instruments of authority*," *&c.* Again: "One of the most important, and, in my opinion, not the least unfortunate consequences of the subsisting state of our alliances, has been the gradual increasing ascendancy of the British influence and authority, exercised through the medium of our Residents at the courts of Poona and Hyderabad. The *weak and wretched state of the Peishwa's internal Government* cannot be more forcibly described than in the enclosed despatch; and I have reason to believe that the authority of the Soubah of the Deccan over his dominions, is fast approaching to the same state of inefficiency and weakness."—Mill, vol. vi. pp. 523, 524. Posterity will hardly credit that the decay of such wretched governments, and their subjection to British influence and authority, could be the theme of regret to a British statesman. How could be the withdrawment of the British have restored strength to these systems of misgovernment and oppression? Sir John Malcolm contends, that when Lord Wellesley commenced his administration, the influence of the French at the Court of Tippoo was predominant; that, at the Court of Sindia, they "had more than influence, they had power; they had founded an empire of their own within the dominions of that prince;"—that, at Hyderabad, their power was considerable, though not yet predominant. Even admitting the danger to be overrated, the facts are unquestionable; and Lord Wellesley's policy was avowedly directed to the overthrow of the French ascendancy. How he could have achieved this without establishing that of the British, is not very clear; and yet, the substitution of British influence for French intrigue, is the grave subject of Lord Cornwallis's pathetic regrets.

the old governments, self-preservation required that a new and vigorous political system should be established. The subsidiary system was not the best; it was open to serious objections; but it was an improvement upon the double system of Clive, and the compromise secured to the British half the benefits of their conquest. The acquisition of territory was deprecated, while the acquisition of power was enjoined. The same means would have secured both, probably at far less cost, and with far more honour. All the hollow pleas for systematic encroachments, the shuffling diplomacy, the Machiavelian doctrines of the Governor-General, the pretended respect for legitimate and hereditary sovereigns who were deprived of every thing but the shadow of power, the fraudulent farce which tarnished the lustre of the British name, might have been spared, had the English Government dared to avow and own the empire which was consigned thus unsought for to its hands.*

"The great success which attended Lord Wellesley's administration," remarks Sir John Malcolm, (in language which may, perhaps, be thought to savour of partiality,) "is, on a general view, calculated to excite astonishment; nor will that feeling be diminished by a nearer contemplation of the manner in which he ruled the large empire committed to his charge. His

* "If the native governments were thus deprived of all independent power, infinitely better would it have been, to have removed them entirely. Two prodigious advantages would thus have been gained: the great expense of keeping them would have been saved; and the people in the countries under them would have been delivered from the unspeakable miseries of their administration,—miseries always increased to excess by the union of a native with the British Government."—Mill, vol. vi. p. 456. "The right of conquest," it is justly remarked, "would have applied with as much propriety to the part that was not done, as to the part that was."

great mind pervaded the whole ; and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed. His authority was as fully recognised in the remotest parts of British India, as in Fort William. All sought his praise: all dreaded his censure. His confidence in those he employed, was unlimited...It was, indeed, with him a principle, to invest them with all the power they could require to effect the objects which they were instructed to attain; and though there can be no doubt as to the great and extraordinary merit of the distinguished officers who commanded the British armies during his administration, it is to that liberal confidence which gave them all the impression of the fullest power, and the most complete scope for the exercise of their judgement, that their unparalleled success is chiefly to be ascribed."*

The Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Fort William on July 30, 1805, and on the same day assumed charge of the government. He found it involved in extreme pecuniary embarrassments ; " every part of the army and every branch of the public departments attached to it, suffering severe distress from an accumulation of arrears." His first object, therefore, was to reduce the expenditure ; and, with a view to this, to terminate by negotiation a contest so ruinous to the Company's finances. His first acts were in condemnation and reversal of the policy of his predecessor ; and he more especially avowed his disapprobation of the scheme of subsidiary alliances. So great was the eagerness which he evinced to put an end to the war with Holkar, and to accommodate the differences with Sindia, that, had not the power of those chiefs and of the Berar Rajah been already broken, it would probably

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 331, 2.

have ensured a prolongation of hostilities, conducted with all the activity and perseverance which the Mahrattas have always displayed in success. "Lord Cornwallis was willing to overlook the outrage committed by Sindia on the British Resident;* to give up Gwalior and its dependencies; and to make some provision for the Rana of Gohud from the disposable territories on the Jumna. To Holkar, he proposed to restore the whole of the territories conquered from him during the war. He greatly disapproved of the treaties of defence and guarantee entered into with the petty Rajahs of Joudpoor, Jeypoor, Bhurtpoor, Macherry, and Boondee. As to the first, the Rajah of Joudpoor having refused to ratify the treaty which his *vakeel* had made with General Lake, of course no agreement with that state existed. With regard to the second, the Rajah of Jeypoor had not fulfilled the conditions of his agreement; and the Marquis Cornwallis directed him to be informed, that it was considered as dissolved. With respect to the other three, the Governor-General proposed, as an inducement to their renouncing the alliance, to make over portions of the territory conquered from Sindia, south of Delhi and west of the Jumna, which river he intended should form the south-western boundary of the Company's possessions in that quarter;† and by this means exempt the Bri-

* "Though aware," his Lordship said, "of the disadvantages of immediately relinquishing or compromising the demands so repeatedly made for the release of the British Resident, yet, as he considered it as a *mere point of honour*, he would certainly be disposed to do so, should it ultimately prove to be the only obstacle to a satisfactory adjustment of affairs with that chieftain."—Malcolm, vol. i. p. 338.

† Lord Lake objected against this ill-advised scheme, that the Jumna is not, as the Marquis seemed to suppose, a barrier of any importance above its junction with the Chumbul, it is fordable

tish Government from all obligation to guarantee or defend the territory so assigned, from the attack of Sindia or any other potentate. In conformity to these sentiments, instructions were forwarded to Lord Lake on the 19th of September. But, before their official transmission, Lord Lake, apprised of the pacific policy which the new Governor-General had determined to pursue, seized the opportunity of Ambajee's appointment to the administration, to draw proposals from Sindia. To the overtures made, Lord Lake replied, that he could listen to no proposition until the Resident was released; a preliminary to which Sindia now readily consented; and Lord Lake, in anticipation of the wishes of the Governor-General, had submitted, previously to the receipt of his instructions, a plan for the adjustment of differences with Sindia. In consequence of this favourable state of affairs, and the evils he conceived likely to result from abandoning the connexion with the petty states, and permitting the Mahrattas to regain a footing in the northern provinces, he delayed acting upon the Governor-General's instructions, and represented the reasons by which he was guided. Before this representation was received, the mortal illness of the Marquis Cornwallis had rendered him incapable of attending to public business."*

The health of Lord Cornwallis had become worse from the time that he had left the seat of government to join the army in the upper provinces. On the 29th of September, he had become too ill to proceed, and was removed from his boats to Ghazeepoor in the district of Benares, where he expired on the 5th of October. Whatever opinion may be formed of the policy

in many places nearly throughout the year, and could afford no security against predatory inroads.

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 304—306.

of these last few acts of his life, so different from the "high and unyielding spirit of his former administration," his patriotism and unimpeachable public virtue, his dignified simplicity of character, and amiable manners, have procured for his name the veneration of all parties.

Upon the death of the Governor-General, Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, who had ascended with reputation through the several gradations of office to the dignity of senior member of the council, succeeded, by a provisional appointment, to the rank and duties of supreme ruler of India. He lost no time in replying to the representations which the Commander-in-Chief had addressed to Lord Cornwallis; stating his resolution to adhere to the plan of his predecessor, in abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and generally with the territories westward of the Jumna.

In the mean time, Holkar had, early in September, moved from Ajmere towards the country of the Seiks. He entered the Shekaotee with about 12,000 horse, two or three thousand ill-equipped infantry, and thirty guns; and skirting the country of the Rajah of Macherry, advanced to Dadree, where he left his infantry, guns, and about 1000 horse under one of his chiefs. This chief, in conjunction with the Rajah of Neemrana (one of the districts to the south-west of Delhi ceded to the British by Sindia), proceeded to ravage the Company's territories. Holkar, with the main body of his army, marched towards Patila, giving out that he expected to be joined by the Seiks and the Dooraunees. Two divisions of the British army, the one under Major-General Jones from Rampoorah, the other under Colonel Ball in the Rewaree hills, made ineffectual attempts to intercept him; and Lord Lake,

having posted divisions to prevent his getting back, set out from Muttra in pursuit of him, about the middle of October, with five regiments of cavalry and four battalions of infantry.

These operations did not obstruct the arrangements with Sindia, which, under the immediate direction of Lord Lake, (Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm being the commissioner on the part of the Company,) were concluded by a new treaty on the 23d of November. Of the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum, every article was to remain in force, except so much as might be altered by the present arrangement. Gwalior and the greater part of Gohud were ceded to Sindia, not as due by the preceding treaty, but from considerations of friendship; and the Chumbul was to be the boundary between the two territories.* In consideration of the benefits accruing to the Company from this line of demarcation, it was agreed to allow Sindia personally, an annual pension of four laks of rupees, and to assign *jagheers* to his wife and daughter within the British territory. Sindia, on his part, resigned his districts of Dholpoor-Baree and Raj-Kerrah, (which were afterwards bestowed upon the Rana of Gohud,) as well as all claim to tribute from the Rajah of Boondee, or any other state north of the Chumbul and east of Kotah. The British Government engaged to enter into no treaties with the Rana of Oudepoor, the Rajahs of Joudpoor and Kotah, and other chiefs, the tributaries of Sindia, in Malwah, Marwar, and Mewar; and not to interfere with the conquests made by Sindia from the Holkar family between the Taptee and the Chumbul.

* The two small districts of Bhadek and Sooseporarah, on the right bank of the Jumna and south of the Chumbul, being necessary to the greater security of the Company's frontier, were, however, made over to them.

Totally disappointed in his hopes of obtaining aid from the Seik chiefs, and reduced to the greatest extremities, Holkar at length sent agents to Lord Lake's camp on the banks of the Beyah, to sue for peace. As the British commander had instructions to grant terms far more favourable than the enemy had any reason to expect, the negotiation was speedily terminated; and on the 24th of December, a treaty was signed at Raipoor Ghaut, by which Holkar renounced all his rights to every place on the northern side of the Chumbul and the Boondee-hills, all his claims on Koonch and Bundelcund, and on the British Government and his allies; he engaged never to entertain Europeans in his service; and he became bound to return to Malwah by a prescribed route. The British Government agreed not to interfere with the possessions or dependencies of Holkar south of the Chumbul, and to restore the forts and territories captured by the British forces on the southern side of the Taptee and Godavery.

Agreeably to the system of policy he had determined upon, Sir George Barlow made alterations in both these treaties when sent to him for confirmation. By a declaratory article annexed to the treaty with Sindia, he explained away any obligation of protecting the petty states north of the Chumbul, from Kotah to the Jumna; and to Holkar he restored Tonk-Rampoorah and the territory north of the Boondee-hills; thus abandoning to his fate the Rajah of Boondee, who, on his part, had maintained the alliance with honour and generosity, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the Commander-in-Chief.* Sir George even gave

* "Lord Lake represented, that the district of Boondee, though not material in point of extent, was highly important, as commanding a principal pass into the northern provinces, of the British em-

directions for dissolving the alliance with the Rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpoor. But Lord Lake, apprehending that even the rumour of such an intention would again set loose the powers of destruction in that part of India, represented his views of the probable consequences in so alarming colours, that Sir George, though he declared his resolution unchanged, consented to delay the execution of it; and those Rajahs, with the neighbouring chiefs, were not, at that time, deprived of the protection of the British power.*

The treaty of Deogaum, concluded in 1803 with the Rajah of Berar, continued in force; but, by an engagement dated Aug. 24, 1806, Patwa and Sumbulpoor were restored to him.

Much disposed as Sir George Barlow was to pursue the course prescribed for his predecessor, he wisely abstained from applying to the Courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, the principles of non-interference which he was pushing to so impolitic an extent in other directions. By a dissolution of the defensive alliance with the Nizam, "the very foundations of our power

pire; that the Rajah, steady in his friendship, and eminent for his services to the British Government, had excited the utmost rage of Holkar, to whom he was tributary, by the great aid which he had rendered to Colonel Monson during his retreat; and that neither justice nor honour allowed him to be delivered over to the vengeance of his barbarous foe. The resolution of the Governor-General remained unchangeable."—Mill, vi. 540.

* Mill, vi. 541, 2. See also Malcolm, i. 356—374. Grant Duff, iii. 306—12. At this epoch in the annals of British India, the peace with the Mahratta states which formed the sequel to Lord Wellesley's brilliant administration, Mr. Mill's history terminates; the remaining pages of his work being devoted to a view of the financial results. The Company's revenues, which, in 1797, 8, were only 8,059,880*l.*, were raised in 1805, 6, to 15,403,409*l.*; but the charges at that time exceeded the revenue by 157,919*l.*, and, together with the interest on the increased debt, which had been tripled, to upwards of two millions per annum.

and ascendancy in the political scale in India, would," he argued, " be subverted ;" and such an event " would be the signal and the instrument of the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations." The withdrawment of the subsidiary force would also require the relinquishment of the territories ceded for their maintenance. " The measures which this view of the subject induced Sir George Barlow to adopt, evinced," remarks Sir John Malcolm, " in a very strong manner, the utter impracticability of a retreat from that position among the states in India to which we had advanced. It was clear, that we could abandon neither our influence nor our power, without the ground being occupied by enemies, who, incapable of understanding the motives of our conduct, would refer to weakness what was the result of moderation, and impute to alarm what was the effect of confidence. Such mistakes and misrepresentations could have but one result; that of encouraging insult and attack, and of accelerating the evils of war and conquest."*

In July 1807, Lord Minto arrived in India as successor to the late Marquis Cornwallis ; and the state in which he found the country, soon convinced him of the utter impracticability of maintaining, even for a short period, the system of neutral policy.

When Jeswunt Rao Holkar returned to his own

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 377, 8. The reasons given by Sir George Barlow for deviating from the system of non-interference, exhibit the narrow basis upon which that selfish policy rested, and warrant the supposition, that, in his other measures, he consulted less his own judgement than his instructions. " Stronger evidence than what is furnished by his recorded sentiments upon this subject, could not." remarks Sir John Malcolm, " be brought to shew the impracticability as well as impolicy of the schemes which were at this period entertained for effecting a change in our whole system relating to the political administration of our empire in India."

dominions, he intimated his intention of discharging about 20,000 of his horse; but large arrears being due to them, which Holkar could not immediately pay, he was compelled to give up his nephew, Khundee Rao, as a hostage for the satisfaction of their demands.* "The advantage of having the admitted head of the Holkar family in their custody, was not overlooked by a turbulent soldiery, already disaffected and mutinous. They immediately hoisted the standard of Khundee Rao, declared him the only legal representative, and refused obedience to Jeswunt Rao. But the over-awing power of the infantry, and the payment of their arrears, to defray which Holkar exacted a large sum from the Raja of Jeypoor, had an immediate effect in quashing the sedition. The innocent instrument of the mutineers fell a sacrifice to his enraged uncle, who secretly put him to death; and the ferocious jealousy of Jeswunt Rao, once roused, could not be allayed until he had also decreed the death of his brother, Khassee Rao, who was in like manner privately murdered. These atrocious deeds were the forerunner of a state of insanity, which was further evinced by extraordinary military preparations, carried on with an ardour and violence proportionate to the derangement of his intellects; until at last, in 1808, his extravagant con-

* The method adopted to carry their point was, by placing Holkar in *dhurna*. This restraint, troops in the irregular armies of India, have, from usage, a right of inflicting upon their chiefs, to compel payment of arrears. It consists in preventing them from moving from the place, or eating, till the affair is adjusted. The party inflicting this restraint, becomes equally subject to it; and the privation suffered by both parties, usually leads to a speedy compromise. The usage is, generally speaking, Sir John Malcolm says, strictly observed. "Other troops will not act against a party who are adopting this recognized mode of coercing their commander to the payment of their arrears."—Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 265.

duct led to his being put under restraint. In this state, he continued in his camp for the space of three years, until the 20th of October, 1811, when his miserable existence terminated."*

Jeswunt Rao is described as of low stature, but very strong and active make; his complexion very dark; and he had lost one eye by the bursting of a match-lock; but the expression of his countenance was not disagreeable, bespeaking something of humour as well as of manly boldness. He had been well educated for a Mahratta; could speak Persian, and wrote his mother tongue with correctness. He was also a quick and able accountant. He excelled in horsemanship, in the management of the spear, and in all manly exercises; but these were the extent of his commendable qualities. "The natural son of a freebooter," (thus Sir John Malcolm sums up his character,) "born to no expectation beyond that of commanding a body of predatory horse, and initiated in infancy into all that belonged to that condition, Jeswunt Row would have been distinguished, had his father lived, as one of the boldest and most active freebooters in a Mahratta army. This was, from the first, the fame he aspired to; and it would have been happy for himself and others, had his sphere continued limited to subordinate action. Although his natural energy sup-

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 318—320. Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. pp. 241—259. The fullest account of the Sindia and Holkar dynasties will be found in the latter work, to which the reader is referred for details of high interest, but of which our limits forbid us to take notice. The reign of Alia Bhye, which immediately preceded the *gurdee ka wukht*, or "period of trouble," extending from 1800 to 1818, forms one of the most remarkable epochs in the Mahratta history. The administration of that admirable princess, seems to have been a perfect model of wise and beneficent rule; and during more than thirty years, it secured the prosperity of her house and dominions. She died in 1795.—Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 174—195.

ported him in authority, Jeswunt Row was never more than the leader of an army of plunderers, to whom he lent the aid of his talents, his name, and his cause, and who, in return, adhered to him through the vicissitudes of his turbulent life. He directed, without controlling, their licentiousness; and they, awed by his vigour, and soothed by his ample indulgence to their worst excesses, served him with an obedience that made him terrible as a destroyer.* It may be questioned by those who seek to palliate his crimes, whether he could have enjoyed power on any other terms. But it must be admitted, that the part he acted was quite congenial to his character. He was indeed formed by nature to command a horde of plunderers. Master of the art of cajoling those who approached him, flattery, mirth, and wit were alternately used to put his chiefs and troops into good humour, when want of pay or other causes led to their being discontented or mutinous. But attempts at intimidation on their part, never failed of rousing a spirit which made the boldest tremble. The anger of Jeswunt Row was, however, soon over; and his disposition is represented, by all who served him, to have been naturally kind and generous. But his ruling passion was power on any terms; and to attain and preserve that, all means were welcomed. Nor could the most unworthy favourite (of whom he had several) suggest a breach of faith or deed of atrocity, that he would not commit, to relieve the distress or to forward

* "The licentious passions of Jeswunt Row brooked no control; and the sacrifice of the honour of the females of their family, was no unusual road with courtiers to his favour." "His favourite drink was cherry and raspberry brandy, and the shops of Bombay were drained of these and other strong liquors for his supply."—Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 246—289.

the object of the moment. From the hour he commenced his career in Central India, the work of desolation began. His object, often declared, was to restore the Mahratta supremacy over India, by a revival of the ancient predatory system; but the times were different. Instead of the falling empire of the Moguls, he had to contend against the rising fortunes of the British; and in place of the national force employed by Sevajee, he had a motley band of desperate freebooters, who recognized no one common principle but the love of rapine. The failure of his campaign in Hindostan awakened this chief from his dreams of plunder and conquest. He tried to reform his army, and raved about improvements in his internal system of rule; but the end of his career approached. A life which had commenced in trouble, and which had been marked by all the extremes of poverty, of violence, of dissipation, of ambition, and of crime, was to terminate in insanity."*

When Holkar's state of mind rendered it necessary to place him under restraint, it was agreed, that the government should be administered by a regency, controlled by Ameer Khan, Holkar's most powerful general. Balaram Seit, Holkar's *duan*, came ostensibly into the management of affairs; but he acted on all points under the immediate direction of Toolsah Bhye,

* Malcolm. C.I. vol. i. 254—258. The crisis of his insanity, of which the effects of excessive drinking were, probably, the primary cause, was hastened by the violent and incessant personal exertions which he made to provide himself with artillery. Night and day, he occupied himself at the furnaces and foundries, often pouring the metal into the mould with his own hands. By such efforts, he cast above 200 pieces of brass ordnance in three or four months. His other improvements were pursued with similar vehemence and ardour. At length, he became himself sensible of the progress of his malady.

the favourite mistress of Jeswunt Row; a woman of profligate habits and most vindictive disposition, who was now considered as the legitimate head of the regency. The army, however, soon became insubordinate; and on the departure of Ameer Khan with his Patans for Rajpootana, to take advantage of the civil war between the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joudpoor, an attempt was made by an adventurer named Dherma Kower, to seize the reins of government. Having made himself master of the person of the insane prince and of Toolsah Bhye, as well as of the young prince Mulhar Rao, he maintained his authority till the arrival of Ameer Khan with an army augmented by almost the whole of the Pindarries. For fifteen days, the regular infantry in the interest of Dherma, resisted all the attacks of the Patan cavalry. At length, finding himself closely pressed, Dherma had recourse to the desperate expedient of carrying off Jeswunt Rao and his son, and the regent, into the recesses of a thick jungle, with the supposed intention of murdering them. The design was frustrated by a chief of the household troops; and Dherma was himself arrested and put to death. After remaining about two months with the army, Ameer Khan returned to Rajpootana, to continue his ravages in that territory, leaving the government of Holkar's dominions in a state of incurable anarchy. The expedients now adopted by Toolsah Bhye and her minister for the support of the court and army, were of the most desperate and ruinous description. Several of the principal officers were appointed soubahdars, and sent out with detachments of the army, with orders to collect or extort subsistence for them, and to remit what more they could levy, to the government. These commanders became answerable for the arrears due to their

troops, and they paid a certain sum in advance to the treasury, besides presents to Toolsah Bhye's ministers; in return for which they received a license to plunder at discretion, without much regard to the rights of neighbouring states. The districts of Sindia and the Puar* suffered equally with those of Holkar; and the atrocious cruelties of these predatory soubahdars were not exceeded by the worst excesses of the Pindarries. One body of these marauders under Ally Khan Bungush, revolted, and after plundering in Khandeish, would have forced their way through the Nizam's territory to Holkar's district of Amber; but the subsidiary forces of Poonah and Hyderabad were called out to oppose them; on which the rebels were dispersed, and Bungush was sent as a state prisoner to the fort of Bombay. The condition of the country was most deplorable. "Every where, the same scene of oppression presented itself. Open villages and towns were sacked, and walled towns were battered till they paid contributions. Leaders who had been successful were, in their turn, attacked and plundered by those that were more powerful. Constant engagements took place between the troops of Sindia, Holkar, the Puar, and the Pindarries: while the Rajpoot princes and the predatory chiefs joined or deserted the different parties, as it suited their interest at the moment. The Bheels, a tribe who are born plunderers, encouraged by the absence of all regular rule, left their usual mountain-fastnesses to seek booty in the open plains;

* The Puar family once enjoyed the highest consideration among the Mahrattas. Both Holkar and Sindia were ready to acknowledge their superior rank, at the very time that they were usurping their power and despoiling their territories. The capital of their principality was Dhar. Another branch of the same family are chiefs of Dewass.—See Malcolm's C. I., vol. i. ch. 4.

and the villagers, driven to despair, became freebooters, to indemnify themselves for their losses by the pillage of their neighbours. Such a state of affairs could not long continue. Hordes were soon forced from the scene of desolation to seek subsistence in distant lands. None of Holkar's territories escaped the general ruin of this period, which also involved those of the Puars of Dhar and Dewass, of the Nabob of Bhopaul, and partially those of Sindia, and of all the Rajpoot states, except Kotah, which rose amid the general wreck to increased wealth and prosperity."*

On the death of Jeswunt Rao, in 1811, Mulhar Rao, his son by a woman of a low tribe, but who had been adopted by Toolsah Bhye, was placed upon the *musnud*, and his title was universally acknowledged. This accession produced no change in the administration; but several attempts were made to overthrow the authority of Toolsah Bhye, by the factions in the interest, respectively, of Sindia and Ameer Khan. Nothing could be more wicked and shameless than the daily occurrences which took place at the court of the regent. The criminal intimacy between Toolsah Bhye and her *duan*, Gunput Row, was matter of notoriety; and the general discontents were greatly inflamed by the barbarous murder of Balaram Seit, who had incurred the resentment of his mistress, by his remonstrances against her licentious conduct. Fresh mutinies were the result, which were made subservient to the intrigues of Ameer Khan; and the Mahratta and Patan parties came to open hostilities, which were terminated only by the advance of the British armies, in 1817, towards Central India.

Sindia's territory was nearly as much disturbed as

* Malcolm's C. I., vol. i. p. 282,

that of Holkar. His military establishment far exceeded his financial means; and to rid himself of the clamours of his troops, he was obliged to send them out to subsist upon the districts, in the manner which was adopted by Holkar; but some of them found employment in reducing several refractory zemindars and rajahs tributary to Sindia. On the death of Ambajee, in 1810, Sindia proceeded to reduce the territory in Gohud held by his family; and having established his camp at Gwalior, although he frequently went on pilgrimages and expeditions, he never moved his head-quarters from that spot: hence, "Sindia's camp," as it is called, has become a great city.

The state of affairs at Nagpoor, under the government of Ragojee Bhonslay, partook of the weakness and confusion prevalent in the territories of the other Mahratta chiefs; with this difference, that the Rajah's troops being inferior, the country became more exposed to predatory inroads. Invited by these circumstances, Ameer Khan, in 1809, after establishing himself in Rajpootana, made a pretext of some alleged claim of the Holkar family to carry his ravages into Berar. The Rajah had not solicited the aid of the British; but the Governor-General could not contemplate with indifference the army of Ameer Khan, now swelled by the Pindarries, encamped on the banks of the Nerbuddah, and ready to overwhelm the Nagpoor country. No time was lost in assembling a considerable force on the eastern frontier of Berar, under the command of Colonel Close; and a detachment of the Bengal army under Colonel Martindell, was moved to the south-western province of Bundelcund. Lord Minto then wrote to Ameer Khan, requiring him to withdraw from the Nagpoor territory. His answer denied the right of the British Government to interfere in his

disputes with the Berar Rajah, and menaced the British territory with invasion, in the event of any hostile movement. Colonel Close now advanced into Malwah, where he occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, and other possessions of that freebooter, whose overthrow might at this time easily have been accomplished; * but the Governor-General, fearful of the financial consequences of prosecuting these advantages, retracted his first instructions to Colonel Close, and directed him to confine his exertions to the object of securing the immediate safety of the Rajah's territories. Ameer Khan was thus permitted to escape with an unbroken army, to prosecute new schemes of conquest and oppression. Aware, however, that a similar danger would recur with the return of the season, if the territory of Nagpoor was left unprotected, the Governor-General entered into a negotiation with Ragojee Bhonslay, on the principle of affording his Highness the permanent aid of a body of British troops. The Rajah was willing to come into this arrangement, on condition that he should not be charged with any part of the expense; but, before the treaty could be concluded,† Lord Minto had recalled the troops, to engage in an expedition against Java. The history of that important conquest does not belong to the present narrative; but its brilliant success, which was attributable, in great measure, to the promptness and energy with which, on his own

* "It was on this occasion, that a Madras and a Bengal force first met on the north of the Nerbuddah; Colonel Sir Barry Close having advanced to Seronj, where he met Colonel Martindell from Bundelkhund."—Prinsep, vol. i. p. 29.

† The policy of this alliance was recognised by the home authorities; and the determination of the Governor-General to interpose for the protection of the Berar Rajah, was approved as "a measure of defensive policy."

responsibility, Lord Minto decided upon the enterprise, formed an illustrious feature of his Indian administration.*

The advance of the British troops under Colonel Close, had excited great alarm among the freebooters; but his withdrawment was the signal for their reassembling, and they became more daring than ever. They overran different provinces of Berar, and burned one quarter of the Rajah's capital. A party of these plunderers, in 1812, violated the British territory, by an irruption into the fertile province of Mirzapore, and succeeded in carrying off a considerable booty. It soon became evident, that an extensive and energetic system of measures would be necessary in order to their suppression; and although Lord Minto was reluctant to involve the Company in a fresh war, without the previous sanction of the authorities in England, he placed upon record his sentiments as to the necessity of such active measures; and he took care that the concurrent opinions of the ablest political officers should be transmitted to England. The consequence of such representations was, a gradual change in the views of those who had the supreme direction of Indian affairs, which prepared the way for the brilliant administration of his Lordship's successor.

No material alteration took place, during the administration of Lord Minto, in the relations of the British Government with the Peishwa, or in any of the minor or more dependent governments; but the

* Malcolm. P. H. vol. i. pp. 401—406; 437. Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 325. Lord Minto had been compelled to visit Madras in 1809, in consequence of the height to which the discontent of the European officers at that Presidency had risen; and, by his firmness and moderation, he allayed a ferment which threatened the most serious consequences. From Madras, he proceeded in person with a large military force to the conquest of Java.

encroachments of Runjeet Singh, Rajah of Lahore, led to the decisive step of declaring the Seik chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlej, to be under the British supremacy. Sir George Barlow, by withdrawing his protection from the petty chiefs south of the Sutlej, had tempted Runjeet Singh to extend his conquests. The assembling of a strong force on the British frontier, compelled him to desist from further aggression; and a treaty was concluded, by which he was bound never to maintain a larger body of troops on the left bank of the Sutlej, than was necessary for the internal management of his districts in that quarter. A strong detachment, under the command of Sir David Ochterlony, was left in occupation of a permanent position at Loodiana, on the left bank of that river.

The alarm of hostile designs on the part of the French, was renewed in 1808, by intelligence of the arrival of an envoy from the Emperor Napoleon at the court of Tehraun. To counteract these designs, the Governor-General determined on sending Sir John Malcolm to Persia as his representative; and he proceeded to Busheer. On his arrival there, however, the ascendancy of French influence was manifested by his being refused permission to advance to Tehraun; and, considering it as unbecoming the dignity of the English nation, that its representative should enter into negotiation with a provincial governor, the General returned to Calcutta. In the mean time, the administration at home, without conferring with the Governor-General, had sent out Sir Harford Jones with credentials from the King of Great Britain. On his arrival in Persia, the royal envoy thought himself at liberty to refuse all attention to orders from India;

and he proceeded towards Tehraun, in direct opposition to the commands and wishes of the Calcutta Government. Circumstances had, in the interim, led to a change of policy at the Persian Court; and Sir Harford met with no difficulty in concluding a treaty, in March 1809, by which it was agreed to subsidize the Persian Government so long as they were at war with Russia, on condition of their aiding to repel any attempt on the part of the French. Against these proceedings on the part of the British ministry and their envoy, the Governor-General protested in the strongest manner, but without avail.*

The same alarm of a French invasion which dictated these missions to Persia, suggested one to the Court of Caubul; "and, though Shuja-ul-Mulk,† with whom an alliance was concluded, soon afterwards lost the throne, and became a fugitive, dependent on the generosity of the English, no embassy," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "ever better repaid the cost incurred, or more fully justified the wisdom of the government by whom it was sent. Before this mission, we were in comparative ignorance of the country of Afghanistan, and the actual condition of its inhabitants and rulers; a knowledge of which was quite

* Malcolm, P.H. vol. i. pp. 414—420. Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. i. p. 236, *note*. Sir John Malcolm strongly condemns the treaty itself as degrading and impolitic. He contends, also, that "to transfer the management of our political relations with Persia from India to England, and to employ an agent in that country, independent of the supreme government, was to embarrass the exercise of that great power which the law had vested in the Governor-General." The course persevered in by the British Government, "led many of the Persians to believe, that an actual difference of interests subsisted between the government of the King of England and that of the Company."

† The brother of Shah Zemaun; who had succeeded in seating himself on the throne in 1803.

essential as the ground of any future measure relative to the most vulnerable part of our eastern empire." *

It was during the administration of Lord Minto, that the Ghoorkalese mountaineers first attracted the notice of Government, by the increased frequency and boldness of their depredations on the provinces of Goorukpoor and Sarun. These excesses compelled the Governor-General to address the Court of Nepaul in very decided language; but he left India so soon after this occurrence, that the duty devolved upon his successor, of checking the encroachments of this proud and warlike people, and of vindicating the insulted honour of the British Government. In 1813, Lord Minto returned to England, where, in a few weeks, a sudden illness terminated the useful life of this virtuous and able nobleman. He was succeeded in the government of India by the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, by which title we shall therefore designate him, in taking a rapid outline of his brilliant administration.

Lord Hastings arrived at Calcutta, and assumed the reins of government, in October 1813. One of the first objects that forced itself upon his attention, was the pending dispute with the Nepaul Government. The reply to Lord Minto's letter, demanding the immediate evacuation of Bootwal and Sheoraj, was not received till December. It was replete with fulsome professions of respect and attachment to the British Government, but asserted the rights of the Goorkhalese sovereign to both districts. Lord Hastings was still anxious to terminate the dispute, if possible, by amicable negotiation; and even after the British

* Malcolm, P.H. vol. i. p. 421. This mission was entrusted to the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone; and we are indebted to it for the valuable information comprised in his "Account of Caubul."

agent had been warned by the Nepaulese commissioners to quit the frontier, the Governor-General addressed a further appeal to the Ghoorkalese prince; but this being contemptuously disregarded, a detachment was sent from Goorukpoor to occupy the disputed lands. No resistance was made, and they were placed under the management of native civil officers. No sooner, however, had the troops been withdrawn, than the Nepaulese suddenly surrounded the three police-stations in Bootwal, killed eighteen, and wounded six persons, and put to death the superior local officer of the British Government, with circumstances of particular barbarity. As the season was too far advanced for the British troops to take the field, Sir Roger Martin, the Goorukpoor magistrate, ordered his *thanas* in Sheoraj to retire on Bansee, relinquishing, for the present, all that he had occupied. One of the outposts was, however, surprised at Rourah, by the Nepaulese, on the 3rd of June, who killed four more men, and wounded two. Still, the formal declaration of war * was delayed by the Governor-General till after the rains, in order as well to allow time for persons engaged in trade with Nepaul, to withdraw their capital, as to give the Ghoorka Rajah an opportunity of disavowing the outrage that had been committed. Instead of this, he boldly avowed and supported it; and the most active military preparations were made by the Nepaulese along the whole extent of their frontier. The declaration of war was at length issued by his Lordship from Lucknow, on the 1st of November, 1814.

The frontier which was now to be the scene of war, stretched to a distance of about 600 miles. Dur-

* The proclamation itself, which recites these facts, is given by Sir John Malcolm, P.H. vol. ii. Appendix 7.

ing the preceding fifty years, the Goorkhalese, by a policy closely resembling that which had made the English masters of India, had extended their dominion over the whole of the strong country which skirts the northern frontier of Hindostan, extending as far as the river Teesta to the east, and westward to the Sutlej. Prithee Nurayun Sah, the founder of the system which raised his nation to power, was, about seventy years ago, the lord of the small state of Ghoorka, situated considerably to the north of Nepaul. Taught by the example of our early victories in Bengal, he armed and disciplined a body of troops after the English fashion, with which he fell upon the neighbouring petty states of eastern Noakote and Bailkote.* He then turned his views to the valley of Nepaul. This valley, lying within a circumference of forty miles, was then divided into the three independent lordships of Bhatgong, Katmandoo, and Patun, the chiefs of which were in a state of open warfare. Runjeet Mull, the Rajah of Bhatgong,

* The reigning family, Colonel Kirkpatrick says, affect to derive these descent from the Rajpoot princes of Oudipoor; and some pretend to date the migration of this race from the invasion of Rajpootana by Allah-ud-deen. "All that we know for certain concerning this race, is, that they have subsisted in the mountainous country bordering on the Gunduk, for a considerable period, during which they have gradually risen into power by successive encroachments on their neighbours. On their first coming from the southward, they appear to have established themselves at West Noakote, or Noakote of Ahudi Rolah, which is in the Palpa quarter, and whither they advanced through the Kumaoon mountains. Hence, they stretched their dominion towards Lumjoong; adding, at some distance of time, the possession of Goorkha to their other acquisitions. Here they are said to have been fixed for six generations." Kirkpatrick, p. 269. Dr. F. Hamilton states, however, that the House of Gorkha belongs to the Magar tribe, which has but very partially yielded to Brahminical institutions. Hamilton, p. 26. The aboriginal Nepaulese are, like their neighbours in Bhotan, of the Tatar or Chinese family.

had invited the dangerous aid of Prithee Nurayun Goorkhali, to assist him in his ambitious schemes against the dominions of his neighbours, Jey Purkaush, Rajah of Katmandoo, and Taiz Ner Singh, Rajah of Patun. But Runjeet Mull soon discovered the treacherous views of his ally, and concluded an accommodation with the chiefs of Katmandoo and Patun, in conjunction with whom he made a fruitless effort to repel the artful Goorkhali. The Nabob of Moorshedabad, Meer Causim, attempted to interfere in 1762, 3, but sustained a signal defeat under the walls of Mukwanpoor; and an expedition sent out by the Bengal Government, under Major Kinloch, in 1767, with a view to succour the Nepaul Rajahs, was not more successful, owing to the unforeseen difficulties attending the attempt to penetrate into a country then almost entirely unknown.* After a struggle of more than ten years, the Ghoorkalese prince succeeded in subjugating the whole of Nepaul. The Rajah of Katmandoo did not long survive the loss of his dominions and liberty; the Patun Rajah is reported to have been put to death by the conqueror; and Runjeet Mull, surrendering his capital to his treacherous confederate in 1768, retired to Benares, where he died shortly afterwards, leaving a son, Abdhoot Singh, who for some time laboured to engage the British Government in measures for re-instating him in his paternal dominions. Prithee Nurayun died in 1771, having previously extended his conquests eastward to the Teesta. His son and successor, Singh Pertaub, in a reign of little more than three years, added to his dominions some districts lying south-west

* Prior to Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission to Katmandoo, in 1793, no Englishman had ever passed the mountains which separate the valley of Nepaul from the Bengal territory.

of Nepaul. In the reign of Rung Behaudur Sah, the next sovereign, the work of conquest rapidly proceeded. All the states lying between Kashki and Sreenuggur, including the territories of no fewer than forty-six petty princes, were either annexed to the Ghoorka kingdom, or rendered tributary.* Not content with having extended their dominion to the Gograh, the Ghoorkalese crossed that river, hoping to gain possession of even the rich valley of Cashmeer. Kumaoon soon yielded; but Gurwal resisted their efforts for twelve years, chiefly from the strength of one fort. From the confines of Gurwal to the Sutlej, all the country fell an easy prey. When once established at Sreenuggur, they crossed that river, and laid siege to the strong fort of Kangrah. But there, their good fortune deserted them. The inhabitants, assisted by the Seiks, to whom they are tributary, resisted all the efforts of the invaders, who lost more men in that long protracted siege, than in the conquest of half the country besides.†

The conquests westward of the Gograh, were achieved by a Goorkhalese general, named Umur Singh Thappa; who, having been for many years at the head of a successful army, had acquired a power which the nationality of his troops, or his own patriotism, alone prevented him from making independent. In the mean time, Rung Behauder had been deposed by a strong faction, headed by the *Ranee*, who placed her son on the throne; and the ex-rajah fled to the pro-

* The whole of these forty-six petty states, consisting of the *Chowbeisia Raaj* (twenty-four states), and the *Bansi Raaj* (twenty-two states), were formerly tributary to the Jumlah Rajah.—Kirkpatrick, p. 283.

† Fraser's Journal, pp. 5, 6.

tection of the British at Benares. In the interval of his exile, the Bengal Government concluded a commercial treaty with the ruling faction, and Captain Knox was sent as resident to Katmandoo in 1802. But the same jealousy of the British that had frustrated the object of Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission ten years before, was still alive; and Captain Knox was recalled, and the connexion broken off, in 1804. Soon after this, Rung Behauder left Benares in consequence of intelligence from his adherents, and again established himself on the throne; but his vindictive proceedings led to a second conspiracy, headed by his younger brother, who was among the number that he had proscribed. The Rajah was cut down by a blow from his brother's sword, as he sat in full *durbar*, in 1805. A barbarous affray followed, in which the assassin himself was slain, with most of the chief men of the state, and the royal family was nearly extinguished. An infant son of the Rajah's was with difficulty secreted in the women's apartments, and was proclaimed, a few days afterwards, under the title of Jirban Joodebeer Bheem Sah.* He was still in his minority when the war broke out with the British; and the power of the state remained in the hands of an aristocracy, headed by the Thappa family. Bheem Sein Thappa, who assumed the English title of General, had the principal conduct of affairs at the capital. He was the son of a chief named Kajee Umur Singh Thappa, Governor of Palpa on the Goorukpoor frontier, who died in 1814; and it was his brother, Umur Singh, who had pushed his conquests west of the

* So Mr. Fraser writes it; but, in the treaty of peace as given by Mr. Prinsep, he is styled, Maharajah Kurman Jodh Bikram Sah Behaudur Shumsheer Jung.

Gograh, and who now occupied a line of posts round Irkee and Balaspoor, including the strong fortresses of Ramgurh and Malown.

In order fully to understand the nature and origin of the disputes which ultimately brought on the war, it is requisite that the reader should have a general idea of the situation of the contested territory. The whole range of hills which form the northern boundary of the Indian plains, is skirted by a magnificent forest, composed chiefly of the *Sâl* tree *(Shorea robusta)*, and nearly two days journey in extent.* Beyond this forest, towards Hindostan, is an open district, called the *Turaee*, or *Tereeana (Tareyani)*, which is valuable chiefly on account of the fine pasture which it yields in the months of April and May, when the periodical hot winds entirely destroy the herbage of the more southern regions.† The soil of the *Turaee* is for the most part extremely rich; and though the number of wild elephants, rhinoceroses, and buffaloes that find shelter in the adjoining forest, make it very uncertain how far the husbandman will reap the fruits of his tillage, cultivation has, nevertheless, made rapid advances. The insalubrity of the climate, during a great portion of the year, prevents, however, the establishment of any considerable towns in the tract; and the population is for the most part migratory, retiring, at the commencement of the unhealthy season,

* The timber, though inferior to the teak of Malabar and Birmah, is useful in ship-building; and the boats which navigate the Upper Ganges, are almost exclusively made of it, as well as beams and rafters for building throughout Hindostan.

† Bullocks from Malwah, and even from the Deccan, come here to graze in those months; and the *kahchuraee* or pasturage-rate levied by the border zemindars, is a very productive branch of the revenue

either into the hills, or to a distance in the plains. * From time immemorial, the country within the hills and on the borders, has been divided among petty rajahs; and the forest and the *Turaee* have naturally been an object of contention. A chieftain possessing fastnesses in the hills, could always enforce contributions, by issuing thence, and carrying off booty from those who hesitated to comply. Hence, every hill rajah had a sweep of the forest and low country attached to his estate, which he was continually endeavouring to extend, either by intrigue or violence; and the border-war between different families, was transmitted from father to son, much in the same spirit as the hereditary feuds between the clans of the Scottish highlands. When the rajahs of the plains became subject to the Mussulman yoke, those of the hills were suffered to retain their independence, and to pursue their old system. Such continued to be the state of the frontier, until the low countries fell under the British dominion, and the hills were gradually overrun by the Ghoorkalese, and consolidated by them into one empire. The British Government, following the example of the Mogul sovereigns, left the rajahs of the low country in undisturbed enjoyment of their territories, on the payment of a fixed land-tax. The Ghoorkalese, on the contrary, as each hill chieftain successively fell before them, exterminated the family, and, with the conquered possessions,

* There are ruins, however, at Sumroon, and in other parts of the *Turaee*, which indicate that this tract was not always deemed so unhealthy. The insalubrity of the forest tract, Bishop Heber says, has greatly increased within the last twenty years, which is attributed by the natives themselves to the depopulation produced by invasions; in particular that of Ameer Khan, in 1805.

took up the claims and contests of their former lords. This brought them in contact with the zemindars under the British protection, who, unable to contend against so warlike an enemy, had no alternative but to resign the object in dispute. Unless the encroachment was very gross, an injured zemindar could seldom hope to succeed in interesting the British authorities in his favour, as the Government was no loser by the usurpation, and was moreover inclined to regard the Ghoorkhalese nation as a well-disposed neighbour whom it was desirable to conciliate.

The disputes on the Sarun frontier, one of the main causes of the war, arose from the clashing claims to the sovereignty of a district, on the part of two of the hill rajahs. The Rajah of Chumparun, who resided at Betia, had long been at variance with his neighbour, the Rajah of Mukwanpoor; and among other grounds of contention, each laid claim to the *pergunnah* of Sumroon. The Mukwanpoor family had granted Roteehut and Puchroutee, two *tuppas* (subdivisions) of this district, in *jagheer*, to a Mussulman named Abdullah Beg, who had obtained a confirmation of his tenure by the Nazim of Moorshedabad. The Betia Rajah at first resisted his taking possession, but ultimately gave Abdullah a deed of gift *(sunud)* for the same lands. When, in 1763, Prithee Nurayun had subdued the Mukwanpoor Rajah, he resolved to resume Abdullah's *jagheer;* and, not content with seizing his lands, after a year or two, he seized twenty-two villages more, which he claimed as included in Roteehut, though not in the *jagheerdar*'s possession. Abdullah fled to the English authorities, who took up his cause, and made his injuries one ground of the declaration of war, issued prior to the advance of Major Kinloch in 1767. That officer, having failed to pene-

trate into the hills, was instructed to occupy the whole *Turaee*, on the old and convenient plea of indemnification for the military expenses incurred; and Abdullah was re-instated in his *jagheer*. When peace was made with the Nepaulese, a long investigation ensued as to the sovereignty; and Mr. Hastings finally decided, in 1781, (upon the strength of the first deed of grant to Abdullah,) that it belonged to Mukwanpoor; but the twenty-two villages remained in the possession of the Chumparun Rajah, as part of the *tuppa* of Nunnor or Noor. Thus matters stood till the end of 1810, when the Nepaulese Soubah of Roteehut crossed the frontier with a party of armed men, and having seized and stockaded Kewya, one of the villages, began plundering and levying contributions in eight others. The Betia people resisted this aggression, and an affray followed, in which the Ghoorkalese leader was killed. A reinforcement was then sent down from Katmandoo, which immediately seized on the whole of the twenty-two villages.

Bootwal and Sheoraj had been occupied by the Ghoorkalese, under the pretence of holding them as *zemindarees* under the Company. These districts formed part of the Oude territory, ceded to the British by the Vizier in 1801. It had become a common practice, at that time, for a hill rajah to gain possession of an estate by usurpation, and then to obtain an acknowledgement of his title by the native *ameel* (government-collector), by being permitted to engage for the revenue. In this manner, the Rajah of the independent hill territory of Palpa had contrived to possess himself of Bootwal, lying for the most part in the plains, for the revenue of which he accounted to the Vizier's government; but soon after it came into the Company's possession, he was driven out of his

native territories, and put to death by the Ghoorkalese; upon which his family took refuge at Goorukpoor, putting their estates in Bootwal in the hands of the Company's agents. The Nepaulese Government, however, laid claim to Bootwal, on the ground of having conquered the Palpa Rajah; and during the administration of Sir George Barlow, they occupied the whole of the territory. When its evacuation was demanded by the British Government, they offered to farm it as a *zemindaree*. They had also taken possession of Sheoraj on the same frontier, together with the *talooks* of Tilpoor and Banaeekpoor, which they held by the same sufferance; professing to be accountable for the revenue, which they paid, or not, according to circumstances. Emboldened by this supineness on the part of the British authorities, they, in 1810–11, crossed the small river which forms the boundary of Bootwal, and began to occupy some villages in the neighbouring *pergunnah*; they also extended their encroachments beyond Sheoraj; and when, in the administration of Lord Minto, these aggressions attracted the serious attention of the Bengal Government, the Ghoorkalese Governor of Palpa, Umur Singh Thappa, answered the demands of the Governor-General, by asserting a distinct right to all the territory he had taken. An attempt was made in 1812, 13, to adjust the dispute by negotiation; but the Nepaulese commissioners shewed no disposition to concession; and in March 1814, they were suddenly recalled to Katmandoo. The strong sensation produced at that Court by Lord Hastings's letter, led to this decided measure; and, at a council held in the following month, after a debate of many hours, war was finally resolved upon. Policy led them, however, to give no intimation of their hostile intentions; and an evasive

answer was returned to the Governor-General's letter, in which no notice was taken of the specific subject of dispute.*

These aggressions on the Sarun and Goorukpoor frontiers, although the most important, were not the only instances. The magistrate of Tirhoot reported, that, between 1787 and 1813, upwards of 200 villages had, on various pretexts, been seized upon by these encroaching mountaineers. On the Purneah frontier, they had seized the *zemindaree* of Bheemnuggur; but were forced to evacuate it by a British detachment sent against them in 1810. Towards Rohilcund, in Moradabad, and in the Seik country they were also pushing their usurpations or their claims.

Lord Hastings now resolved to act on the offensive against the enemy, along the whole line of their frontier, from the Sutlej to the Koosee. The army was, accordingly, formed into four divisions; one at Benares, one at Meerut, one at Dinapoor, and one at Loodeana. The first division, at Dinapoor, consisting of 6000 men under Major-general Marley, was intended to seize the pass at Mukwanppor, and to push forward to Katmandoo, the capital. The second, or Benares division, about 3000 strong, under Major-general S. Wood, was to penetrate by Bootwal into Palpa, and then to co-operate with the first division. The third division, formed at Meerut, under Major-general Gillespie, of about 3000 men, was to march

* Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 60—76. The debate is said to have lasted from nine o'clock A.M. till eight at night. Some in the council were apprehensive of the result. "We have hitherto," they said, "but hunted deer: if we engage in this war, we must prepare to fight tigers." The advocates of war rested their arguments chiefly on the invulnerability of their hill territory, which *not even Alexander* had been able to subdue; and adverted to the defeat of the English in their attempts on Bhurtpoor. General Bheem Sein took this side, and his counsel prevailed.

first to the Dehra Doon, and having reduced the forts in that fertile valley, to move, as might be deemed expedient, either to the eastward, to recover Sreenuggur and Gurwal, or to the westward, to gain the post of Nahn, the chief town of Sirmore, and so to sweep on towards the Sutlej. The last division, consisting of somewhat less than 3000 men, under Brigadier-general Ochterlony, was destined to advance from Loodeana against the strong and extensive cluster of posts held by Umur Singh Thappa, in the hilly country bordering on the Sutlej, and, eventually, to co-operate with the third division. Beyond the Koosee, eastward, Major Latter was furnished with 2000 men for the defence of the Poorneah frontier, with directions to open a communication with the Rajah of Sikkim,* for the purpose of encouraging him to act against the Ghoorkalese in that quarter. Such were the dispositions made for the most arduous campaign in which the British had hitherto engaged; owing, not more to the physical obstacles to success, than to the character of the enemy, by whom they were encountered with an obstinacy and cool determination quite new in India.

Major-general Gillespie, to whom was entrusted the command of the third division, was the first to penetrate the enemy's frontier. On the 22nd of October, he seized the Keree (or Timlee) pass leading into the Doon; and thence advanced, without opposition, to Dehra, the principal town in the valley. About five miles from Dehra, is the fort of Kalunga or Nalapanee, built on an insulated hill between five and six

* Sikkim, bounded on the east by the Teesta, and on the west by the Michee, extends northward to the snowy range, and is tributary to Lassa. The Rajah's minister had invited the common enemy, who had acquired a footing at Nagree; and the contest was now going on.

hundred feet high. Here Bhulbudder Singh, nephew of Umur Singh, had taken up his station, at the head of about six hundred men. A letter was sent to this chief, summoning him to surrender the fort. It was delivered to him at midnight, and he tore it, observing, that it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours; but he sent his *salaam* to the English *sirdar*, with the assurance that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp. Misled, in some degree, by his information respecting the strength of the place, General Gillespie had sent forward a detachment to take the fort by assault. This was soon found to be impracticable, and the General advanced with his whole army. Having taken possession of the further end of the ridge on which the fort is built, he formed a hasty battery, at 600 yards distance, for his light guns, and gave orders to prepare for storming on the next day. The enemy had in the mean time been diligently occupied in strengthing his position. The wall of the fort had been raised, though it was not then quite finished, so as to render it difficult to gain the top without ladders, even in the lowest part. Every point where the fort was approachable or weak, was covered by stockades, a species of fortification in which the Ghoorkalese are highly skilled. Guns were placed where they could do most execution; and at a wicket, left open, but cross-barred, which flanked a great part of the wall, a gun was placed to enfilade the approach with showers of grape. In the course of the night, the General disposed his division into four parties, who, upon a given signal, were to move simultaneously from the battery and surrounding valley, to escalade the walls. Unfortunately, the signal was of a nature very liable to be mistaken,—the firing of guns from

the battery in a particular manner; and having, early in the morning, fired upon the fort for some time without producing the expected effect, the impetuosity of the General's temper led him to give the signal an hour before the time previously announced. It was heard by two only of the four columns, who, having carried the stockades, pushed on to the walls under a very heavy fire of musketry. Scarcely had Lieutenant Ellis, of the pioneers, planted the first ladder, at the head of his division, than a shower of grape was opened from the wicket, which, taking them in flank, swept down, with their brave officer, the whole front line. An attempt was then made to gain the wicket, but it was ineffectual; and the troops were compelled to fall back under shelter of some huts in the rear.* The General, on seeing this, with fatal impetuosity, resolved to head a fresh assault in person. He moved on from the batteries with three fresh companies of the 53rd, but was not so readily followed as he wished. At the head of about one hundred dismounted dragoons, he had, however, reached a spot within thirty yards of the wicket, when, as he was waving his hat to cheer his men, he was shot through the heart. His aide-de-camp was killed by his side; three other officers were killed, and fifteen were wounded. The death of the General was the signal for retreat; and Colonel Mawbey, upon whom the command devolved, deemed it expedient to retire to Dehra, to await the arrival of a battering train from Delhi. This occupied till the 24th of November, when operations were re-commenced; and, by the 27th, a breach had been effected. But in vain did the British officers exert themselves

* Women were seen occupied in hurling down stones, and undauntedly exposing their persons.—Fraser, p. 17.

to induce the troops to mount to the assault. They were impressed with so superstitious a conviction of the impracticability of the breach, that they could not be brought to advance; and after an immense sacrifice of valuable lives, a retreat was sounded. This petty fortress had already cost the assailants considerably more than the entire number of its garrison.

It was now determined to shell the fort, and to cut off the supply of water, which, there was reason to believe, was obtained from without the walls. Had this plan been adopted at the commencement of the siege, the fall of the place would have been effected with facility, and would thus have saved all the blood that was spilled, besides the loss of two months of the favourable season, with the disrepute of two disastrous failures. On the night of the 30th, Bhulbudder evacuated the fort with the remnant of his garrison, about seventy men, and having secretly passed the line of posts drawn round it, joined a party which had been sent from Nahn to reinforce the place. Nalapanee was found in a shocking state, full of the mangled remains of men and women.* The fort was razed, and the main body of the division advanced by the pass of Kolapanee, towards Nahn. A detachment was left strongly posted at Kalsee, at the north-western extremity of the Doon, which commands the passes of the Jumna, to cut off the communication between the western and eastern portions of the Ghoorka territory; and, on the 4th

* "The desperate courage they had opposed to means so overwhelming," Mr. Fraser says, "was horribly apparent. The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house. Those who yet lived, piteously called for water, of which they had not tasted for days." The stench arising from the half-interred bodies was dreadful Upwards of ninety corpses were burned by our troops, and about an equal number of wounded were sent to the hospital.

of December, the strong position of Barat, situated on a mountain nearly 6000 feet high, to the N.E. of Kalsee, was abandoned by the enemy, and occupied by Colonel Carpenter.

The command of the third division was now entrusted to Major-general Martindell, who joined the army on the 20th of December, at the pass of Moganund, seven miles from Nahn. That town, though situated on a hill 2000 feet high, was not deemed by the enemy of sufficient strength for their main stand; and Runjoor Singh, the commander, had orders to retire to a position north of the town. He now occupied the surrounding heights and the fort of Jythuk (or Jytok), situated at a point where two spurs of mountainous ridges meet; the peak, at the intersection, rising to a height of 3600 feet above the level of the plains of Hindostan. General Martindell, having ascertained the evacuation of Nahn, sent forward two battalions to occupy it on the 24th; and on the following day, moved forward with his whole force. The pioneers had already been employed in making a road for the battering guns, which, it was evident, would be necessary for reducing the fort of Jythuk; but the time likely to be occupied in this tedious operation was so great, that it was determined to make an attempt to take the place by surprise. After a cursory and inadequate examination of the position, two columns of troops were sent to occupy different arms of the ridges. The first column, destined to take possession of the southern arm, gained the crest of the ridge; but the rashness of the advanced guard in pressing forward to storm a stockade, before the main body of the detachment had had time to form, ruined the whole enterprise. They were repulsed and driven back upon the native infantry, who, being in

confusion, were panic-struck; and the retreat to Nahn became a perfect flight. In the mean time, the second column, having a detour of sixteen miles to make before they could reach the intended point on the northern ridge, had not established themselves in their position till two hours after the first had returned to camp after their defeat. Astonished at hearing nothing in the direction of the other post, they nevertheless maintained themselves against the whole Ghoorkalese force till two hours after sunset; when orders reached them from the General to make the best possible retreat. At this time, although they had had to sustain nine successive charges from the enemy, Major Richards had not lost more than 20 or 30 men; but having no hope of a reinforcement, and his ammunition being nearly exhausted, there was no alternative but to obey his instructions. "The Ghoorkalese were at this moment swarming round the hill. The night was darkening round. The men were weary with their long march and a six hours' combat, and were exhausted by a want of water, which there had been no means of procuring for several hours. The moment that the enemy saw our troops quitting the hill, they rushed in on all sides, cutting down the loiterers. The ground was so steep and broken, that it was impossible long to preserve order. While descending a steep defile, the Ghoorkalese, knowing the ground, attacked a party in advance, and thus caught our people in a double fire: then, on all sides, they broke in, cutting down the most unprotected."* Owing, however, to the bravery and self-devotion of the covering party, who kept the whole Ghoorkalese force in check, the loss was less severe than might have been expected. After

* Fraser, p. 33.

all the stragglers had come in, it was reduced to four officers and seventy-eight men killed; five officers and 281 men wounded and missing. Several of those who were at first missing, having lost their way in the confusion and darkness, had been sheltered in the houses of the natives, and kindly treated; and a *soubahdar* and forty men, who had fallen into the hands of Runjore Singh, had been sent back on their taking an oath not to fight against the fort again. The wounded also had their option to remain and be taken care of, or to go along with their comrades. The humanity and courtesy shewn by the enemy on this and on other occasions, were worthy of a more enlightened people.* After this unfortunate business, the British army entrenched itself at Nahn, and no enterprise of any moment was for a considerable time attempted by General Martindell.

The operations of the first and grand division of the

* The garrison at Kalunga displayed the same generous spirit of courtesy. "Whatever the nature of the Ghoorkas may have been found in other quarters," says Mr. Fraser, "there was here no cruelty to wounded or to prisoners; no poisoned arrows were used; no wells or waters were poisoned; no rancorous spirit of revenge seemed to animate them. They fought us in fair conflict, like men; and in the intervals of actual combat, shewed us a liberal courtesy worthy of a more enlightened people. So far from insulting the bodies of the dead and wounded, they permitted them to lie untouched till carried away; and none were stripped, as is too generally the case. The confidence they exhibited in the British officers was certainly flattering; they solicited and obtained surgical aid; and on one occasion, this gave rise to a singular and interesting scene. While the batteries were playing, a man was perceived on the breach, advancing and waving his hand. The guns ceased firing for awhile, and the man came into the batteries: he proved to be a Ghoorka, whose lower jaw had been shattered by a cannon shot, and who came thus frankly to solicit assistance from his enemy. He recovered; and when discharged from the hospital, signified his desire to return to his corps, to combat us again."—Fraser, p. 29.

army, under General Marley, had not been more successful. On the 23d of Nov., the General crossed the Ganges, and proceeded towards Bettiah. On the 24th, a party in advance under Major Bradshaw, surprised and carried a post of the enemy at Burburwah, on the right flank of the Bagmuttee; and the whole of the *Turaee*, being evacuated by the Ghoorkalese, was annexed by proclamation to the British possessions. General Marley arrived in the Puchroutee *tuppa* on the 12th of December; but, except an affair of outposts, in which two companies of British troops were almost entirely destroyed, the army remained in a state of inaction through the whole of January. The General, deeming his force insufficient to undertake offensive measures against an enemy so enterprising, and whose numerical force he greatly over-rated, abandoned all idea of penetrating into the hills in pursuance of his instructions. At length, on the 10th of Feb., unable to endure the irksomeness of his situation, he suddenly left the camp, without publishing any previous notification of his intentions to the troops.* Major-general George Wood was now ordered up from the presidency, to take the command of the Sarun army. He joined it on the 22d, and found that the enemy, intimidated by a partial check they had received from a reconnoitring party supported by cavalry, had withdrawn every position they had established in the forest and the *Turaee*, leaving the passage free: not a Ghoorkali was to be seen below the hills. "The new General, however, adopted the opinion, that the season of the fever had arrived, and that it would be risking the health and efficiency of his fine army, (now augmented to 13,400 regular troops,) were

* For this conduct, it was deemed proper to strike him off the staff

lie to attempt to penetrate the forest. He accordingly contented himself with sweeping its skirt, in a long march eastward to Janikpoor, and back again; and thus the season closed, actually without his seeing a single enemy."*

The operations of the second division, under Major-general Sullivan Wood, were not more fortunate or important. The army began to move from Goorukpoor on the 13th of December, towards the Bootwul pass, which they reached on the 31st, without seeing an enemy. But, on entering the forest, unsuspicious of attack, the troops were suddenly saluted with a shower of balls from among the trees. As soon as the enemy shewed themselves, they were forced back by the British bayonet; but, "much loss having been sustained, and some confusion having taken place, and the coolies and bearers having thrown away the spare ammunition, it was resolved to retire."† After this feeble attempt, no movement of any consequence took place till the 15th of April, an interval of between three and four months. The General, deceived by false reports, could not get rid of the impression, that his force was too weak to attempt any thing against the enemy. At length, on the arrival of a battering train from Goorukpoor, he was induced to draw up his army before Bootwul, and opened a desultory fire against the place for some hours. An attempt was then made to cross the river which flows past the town; but the water was found too deep, and the enterprise was abandoned. Immediately after this abortive manœuvre, General Wood laid waste the Ghoorkalese portion of the *Turaee*, and then retired to cantonments at Goorukpoor.

These disastrous and disgraceful failures, which

* Prinsep, i. 140. † Fraser, 25.

tended greatly to weaken the impression of the British power in the minds of the natives of India,* were in some measure counterbalanced by the widely different results which attended the operations of the fourth division in the north-west. "General Ochterlony, who took the field at the same time with Gillespie, and was oppposed to Umur Singh in person, formed, from the first, a just estimate of the character of his enemy, and of the difficulties he would have to encounter. He resolved, therefore, to proceed with the utmost caution. On the 31st of October, he reached Plasea, situated in a valley within the hills, which he entered, from the Sutlej, by a pass less difficult than most of those further east. Umur Singh was at this time at Urkee, considerably within the hills. They run here in broken ridges, stretching N.N.W.; and each ridge affords, of course, a series of positions. The outermost ridge was surmounted by the fort of Nalagurh, which, with an out-post at Taragurh, commanded the principal route into the hills. On the next range stood Ramgurh, Joorjooree, Chamba, and a second Taragurh; above this, again, towered the heights of Maloun; behind which lay Urkee on one side, and, on the other, the

* "The unexpected obstacles which arose to impede our operations against Nepaul, and the reverses which attended our first efforts in the war with that country, gave rise to intrigues and movements among the native states of India, evincing a very general disposition to combine against our power. Runjeet Singh approached the Sutlej; Ameer Khan encamped near our frontier in Hindostan; and letters and messengers passed daily between the Mahratta courts of Poonah, Nagpore, and Gwalior. The precise nature and extent of the projects entertained at this moment, were not ascertained; but no doubt remained of the agitation of plans directed against the existence of the British Government. The success, however, which attended the operations of Sir David Ochterlony in the hills of Kumaoon, completely changed the scene, and at least checked the execution of the projected measures."—Malcolm, P.H. vol. i. p. 450.

capital of Umur Singh's staunch ally, the Raja of Belaspoor. Between was a comparatively fruitful valley, whence Umur Singh could draw his supplies in case of his occupying any of the above ridges. Having thrown positions into the forts of the Nalagurh and Ramgurh hills, and reckoning apparently, that General Ochterlony would be occupied some time before them, Umur Singh was in no hurry to leave his position at Urkee. The British General, resolving to put nothing to hazard, made a road with great labour, and sat himself down, with his heavy guns, before Nalagurh, on the 1st of November. He had breached the wall, when the garrison surrendered on the 5th, capitulating also for the stockade on the same ridge, called Talagurh. Umur Singh came down and took position on the Ramgurh range the same day, leaving small garrisons at Urkee and Sabathoo behind him. The position of Ramgurh was so steep on the side towards the plains, that the Major-general determined to turn it, if possible, and to operate on its rear. These ridges are all so many steps to the Heemachul (or Himalaya); each, therefore, as it approximates to that stupendous range, towers over that before it, and the steeper side is always towards the plains. Ramgurh stood nearly in the middle of the ridge, and formed Umur Singh's right."*

During the month of November, the General was busily occupied with surveying and improving the roads, and reconnoitring Umur Singh's position on every side. The news of the second failure of the third division before Nalapanee, confirmed him in the resolution to put nothing to hazard; and the promise of a reinforcement induced him to defer the attack on the enemy.

* Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 104—106.

The time, however, was not lost. The General exerted himself in winning over the Plasea Rajah; * and having succeeded, he obtained his assistance in making a road for artillery, from Mukran, by Khundee, to Nehur, three miles N.N.E. of Ramgurh, where he had previously established his head-quarters. On the 27th of December, the additional troops and artillery having joined, Colonel Thompson was detached with fourteen strong companies, to attack two stockades on a spur of the Ramgurh ridge, opposed to General Ochterlony's right. The success which attended this movement, placed Colonel Thompson in the rear of Umur Singh's centre, so as entirely to intercept the supplies he received by the Urkee road, and to incommode his communication with Belaspoor. Seeing this, the Ghoorkalese general shifted his ground; deserted all his stockades to the left of Ramgurh; and, keeping that fort still as his right, took up a reversed position, so as to oppose a new front to the British army, which had turned his left. As the ridge on which Colonel Thompson was lodged did not afford the means of approaching the main stockades of the enemy's new position, (the intervening ground being particularly rugged,) a different plan of operations became necessary, and General Ochterlony put in execution the following masterly movement. Crossing the Gumba river from Nehur, he went along the Urkee road, till he turned the Maloun ridge; and thence, sending on Colonel Thompson a-head, he made a long detour in the direction of Belaspoor. Colonel Arnold was left to watch Umur Singh, who, as was expected, no sooner perceived the object of the detour made by the British General, than he moved off with his whole force to

* Ram Surwa Sen, Rajah of Hindor and Plasea.

take up the stronger position of Maloun, fearing that the British might otherwise pre-occupy it. The stockaded position of Mungoo-ka-Dhar, which had been his head-quarters, was occupied by Colonel Arnold on the 18th of January; but small Ghoorkalese garrisons were still left in the stone redoubts of Ramgurh, Taragurh, Chamba, and Joorjooree. While Colonel Cooper commenced operations against these, Colonel Arnold, in pursuance of his instructions, proceeded towards Belaspoor. Owing to the difficulties of the route, and the delay occasioned by a week's heavy rain and snow, it was not till the beginning of February that the Brigadier reached Tulsoora, the point assigned him, and established himself at the extremity of the Maloun range. He subsequently reduced Rutungurh, a fort disjointed from the ridge, but lying directly between Maloun and Belaspoor.

In the mean time, a party of irregulars, under Capt. Ross, had, on the 13th of January, occupied the heights of Punalee, commanding the valley of Belaspoor, through which the Sutlej flows. The Rajah of Belaspoor, after an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge him from this position, fled across the river, and was at length induced by the fear of losing his country, to make his terms and submit. Some time was consumed in reducing the Ramgurh forts. By dint of great exertion, an eighteen-pounder was dragged up to the batteries; and on the 16th, the face of the fort of Ramgurh was laid in ruins. The garrison capitulated for themselves and for Joorjooree, and were allowed to march out with the honours of war. The two commanders, however, on joining Umur Singh, were punished with the loss of their noses and ears, for having given up the forts except with their lives; and the rest of the garrisons were disgraced. Taragurh

was breached on the 10th of March, and the garrison evacuated the fort in the night.* Chamba, on the same ridge, surrendered on the 16th, after a day's battering. The whole of the strong forts in the rear being thus reduced and occupied, Colonel Cooper followed the main army, to take part in the final operations against Maloun. By the 14th of April, all was prepared for a combined movement, the plan of which the General had been for some time maturing.

The position where Umur Singh had now concentrated his forces, consisted of a line of fortified posts, upon a lofty and difficult ridge, which projects into the Sutlej, between two small rivers, the Gumba and the Gumrorah; the former being to the northward, and both flowing to the west. Between the extreme positions of the enemy, at the stone forts of Maloun and Soorujgurh, there were several intervening peaks, each of which was crowned with a stockade, excepting two, called Ryla peak and Deothul. The former was conveniently situated for operations against Soorujgurh: the latter was in the very heart of the Ghoorkalese position, and not a thousand yards from Maloun. Of these, the General resolved to gain possession. Ryla peak was occupied without resistance by three British columns, on the 15th, but Deothul was not gained till after a very severe contest; and the day was spent in desultory fighting about the position. The chief loss sustained by the British, however, was in a simultaneous attack on the enemy's cantonments near Maloun, which, though not altogether successful, answered the end of withdrawing the enemy's attention from the main attacks. During the night, every exertion was made to throw up defences about Deothul,

† Taragurh, Mr. Fraser says, was found to be the strongest place the enemy possessed.

from the well-founded conviction that the struggle for that post was yet to come. It was, indeed, a night of anxiety to both parties. Bukhtyar Thappa, Umur Singh's best officer, saw from Soorujgurh, the serious character of the operation intended; and he repaired to Maloun, to represent to Umur Singh the necessity of dislodging the British from their position. The *élite* of the Ghoorkalese army were in this emergency collected; and two thousand (more than could well operate at once upon the broken ground of the ridge) were placed under command of Bukhtyar, who silently posted them in ambuscade, under the cover of the night. Just at day-break on the 16th, the British position was attacked at once, on all sides where it was accessible. The Ghoorkalese came on with such furious intrepidity, that several were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the works. Umur Singh remained all the while on a height, just within musket range, with the Ghoorka colours planted beside him; while Bukhtyar was every where exciting the men to further efforts, and moved with them to every fresh attack. The Ghoorkalese particularly aimed at gaining possession of our guns; and they directed their fire with so much effect against the artillery-men, that, at one time, three officers and one man alone remained to serve them. The British commandant at Ryla peak, perceiving the desperate nature of the struggle at Deothul, sent a reinforcement with ammunition, which arrived most opportunely. After the contest had continued for two hours without intermission, the Ghoorkalese being observed to slacken their efforts, it was resolved to assume the offensive, and drive them back. Bukhtyar being killed in this charge, the enemy was every where put to flight, and the victory was decided.

The total loss of the British in the operations of the 15th and 16th, were 61 killed, (including two European officers,) and 293 wounded. The enemy left above 500 men on the ground before Deothul. In the course of the day, they sent to request the body of their brave commander, which was found, covered with wounds, close to the foot of the British defences. General Ochterlony ordered it to be wrapped in rich shawls, and delivered to Umur Singh, in order to testify the respect his bravery had excited.* "Taken altogether," it is remarked, "this approached more nearly to a general action, than any event that occurred in the campaign; and it was a proud triumph to the Indian army, to have achieved so complete a victory, on ground which gave such great advantages to the enemy, and with numbers so nearly equal; for not one half of Sir David Ochterlony's army was engaged."†

During the night, the Ghoorkalese withdrew their garrisons from all the positions on the further side of Deothul, including Soorujghur, though a place of some strength; and General Ochterlony now drew his positions round Maloun. By the end of the first week in May, a battery was raised against that fort. All the Ghoorkalese *sirdars* now urged Umur Singh to come to terms with the British for himself and his son Runjoor at Jythuk; but the old chief obstinately re-

* This "noble old officer" (he is said to have been seventy years of age) was the strength and dependence of the army, by whom he was much beloved. They loudly bemoaned his loss, exclaiming, that now, indeed, the blade of their sword was broken. He had assured Umur Singh, that he would return victorious, or not at all; and he gave notice to his two wives to prepare for their *suttee*, as he had little hope of surviving. They both sacrificed themselves on his funeral pile the next day.

† Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 165—172. Fraser, pp. 38—41.

fused to listen to them, urging that, if they did but hold out till the approaching rains, the British army would be compelled to withdraw.

The discouragement produced by the death of Bukhtyar, was greatly increased, at this time, by tidings of the fall of Almorah; the result of a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund, planned by Lord Hastings as a diversion in that quarter. The Governor-General had ascertained, in his tour through Rohilcund, that the province of Kumaoon, which skirts the north of it, was left nearly destitute of defence; and the natives were known to be disaffected to the Ghoorkalese, who held them in rigorous subjection, frequently seizing and selling their wives and children, to enforce the most arbitrary exactions. As no regular troops could be spared at that juncture, owing to the demands for reinforcements in the hills, Lord Hastings resolved to avail himself of the warlike population of Rohilcund, who are Patans; and two officers who had served with Sindia, were ordered to raise and organize levies. In Feb. 1815, Lieut.-Colonel Gardner commenced his march with his Rohillas from Kasheepoor; and by the end of March, he had, by sheer dexterity, and without bloodshed, made an effectual opening into the heart of the province of Kumaoon, and taken up a position in sight of Almorah, the capital. Major Hearsey,* the leader of the other party, penetrated by the Kalee, or western Gogra, to Chumpawut, without meeting any opposition; but at length, on falling in with a body of Ghoorkalese regulars sent to oppose him, he was deserted by his raw levies after the first fire, and was made prisoner; the Rohillas hastening back to the

* Major Hearsey was the companion of Mr. Moorcroft in his adventurous journey across the snowy mountains to the Lake Manusararwa, a short time before.

plains in the utmost terror. Colonel Gardner had avoided committing his men, except in skirmishes where he had a decided superiority; but his situation would now have become precarious, had not Lord Hastings determined to support him by a force of regular infantry and artillery, which circumstances now enabled him to spare. About the 20th of April, Col. Nichols, to whom this service was entrusted, effected his junction with Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner at Kutarmul; and on the 26th, after a severe contest, a position was established on the Seetolee heights, about seventy yards from the fort of Almorah. The governor, seeing his situation desperate, and being in extreme want of supplies, now proposed an armistice, preparatory to a negotiation for surrender. It was granted; and on the next day, a formal convention was signed, in which the surrender of the province of Kumaoon, with all its fortified places, was stipulated, and all the Ghoorkalese troops were to retire within ten days, to the east of the Kalee; articles which were faithfully executed.*

To resume the narrative of affairs at Maloun. A considerable desertion from the Ghoorkalese army had taken place, even previously to the last success; but now, the cruel precautions taken by Umur Singh could no longer control his troops. The pertinacity of his refusal to negotiate, induced nearly the whole of his officers, with their men, to come over to the British camp as prisoners of war; and Umur Singh was

* The armistice being granted, the Nepaulese wounded officers came boldly to the British camp, to solicit surgical aid. The details of these operations are given by Mr. Prinsep, (vol. i. pp. 142—157,) and by Mr. Fraser (pp. 44—48.) The territory ceded was, all the country west of the Gogra, Sardah, Surjoo, or Kalee-nuddee, (by all which names the western branch of the Gogra is designated,) as far as Gurwal.

left with only about 250 men who remained faithful to him. With these, he shut himself up in the fortress, until the batteries were in readiness to open upon its walls. Yielding at last to his fate, this proud chief, on the 15th of May, signed a capitulation for giving up his last and formidable strong-hold, and resigning to the British all the provinces from Kumaoon westward to the Sutlej. In these terms, Runjoor Singh was, of course, included; and General Ochterlony had the honour of obtaining the surrender of Jythuk, which had hitherto held out against the feeble and ill-directed exertions of General Martindell. Thus, a campaign which, in January, promised nothing but disaster, terminated, in May, by leaving the British in possession of the whole tract of hills from the Gogra to the Sutlej; a country hitherto deemed impenetrable, except to the native inhabitants. The greater part of this conquest was achieved by native troops alone, a few artillery-men being the only European troops with General Ochterlony. Many of the Ghoorkalese were now admitted into the British service, and were formed into three battalions, called *Nuseeree* battalions. In order to allow a further opening for the employment of the military classes, a provincial corps was also raised for civil duties in Kumaoon, which was made a British province. The Doon was likewise retained, and annexed, ultimately, to the Seharunpoor district. The remainder of the hill country was restored to the several chiefs from whom it had been wrested by Umur Singh, with the exception of Sabathoo, Raeengurh, Nahn, and a few other places, which were made military posts for the *Nuseeree* battalions; and the whole were placed under the general protection of the British Government.*

* Prinsep, i. 175, 6.—The Rajahs and Thakoors now re-esta-

The Court of Nepaul was not yet, however, sufficiently humbled to submit to the sacrifices which Lord Hastings felt himself justified in insisting upon as the conditions of peace. The *Turaee*, of which the Ghoorkalese were naturally anxious to retain a part, was not the only object of contention. They were not less reluctant to allow a Resident to be permanently stationed at Katmandoo, with the usual military establishment; deeming it, not without reason, a preliminary step to actual subjection. A suspicion of the ulterior views of the British formed, indeed, the main source of the indisposition of the Ghoorkalese Court to come to an accommodation. Besides this, many of the chiefs still entertained a presumptuous confidence in the strength of the barrier opposed by the forests and hills which skirted their eastern territories. From the Gogra to the Koosee, on a line of nearly 800 miles, the British armies had been wholly baffled; and though superior in force to those which achieved the conquests of the west, had not even ventured to cross the forest. The veteran Umur Singh and his sons, who had now arrived at the capital, were among the warmest advocates for continuing the war. That chief had strongly deprecated the encroachments on the Gorukpoor territory, which led to the rupture, and had given his advice not to proceed to hostilities with the English; but war being once kindled, he would not, he said, suffer the

blished and "taken under protection," were, the Rajah of Kuhloor or Belaspoor (extending on both sides of the Sutlej); the Rajah of Hindor or Plasea; the infant Rajah of Sirmoor; the Rajah of Busahur or Rampoor; the Rana of Bagul, which has Urkee for its capital; Keonthul, with the exception of Sabathoo, was given to the Seikh Rajah of Puteeala, in reward of his services; the Rana of Joobul; and the Rajah of Gurhwal, to whom, with the exception of the Dehra Doon, and the territory E. of the Alknundra, that province was restored.

honour of his prince to be sullied by concession and submission.* After some negotiation, the proposed treaty was finally rejected by the chiefs.

Every precaution was now taken to fortify and render impregnable the passes through the first range of hills. The grand pass, by the *Bicheea Koh*, called the *Chooreea Ghautee*, was defended by three successive fortifications, the last of which was deemed impregnable; and all the other known routes were similarly secured.

Anticipating the probable renewal of hostilities, the Governor-General had ordered Sir David Ochterlony to take the field in December 1815, at the head of nearly 20,000 effective men, including three European regiments. The army was met in the *Turaee* by the Ghoorkalese envoy who brought the formal intimation of the intention of his master to re-commence the war. By the 10th of February, the General had passed the forest, and established himself at the foot of the *Bicheea Koh* pass. The enemy's works were found unassailable; but a route was discovered, through a deep and narrow ravine called *Baleekola*, by which their position was turned; and the Chooreea heights, to the west of the pass, were occupied without resistance. The Ghoorkalese, on discovering the success of this movement, abandoned their triple fortification, and fell back. On the 27th, the British General had reached the beautiful valley of the Raptee, and was moving up to Mukwanpoor, under

* The intercepted letter in which the old warrior expressed this sentiment, was written by him in March 1815, when closely beset by General Ochterlony's army. This most characteristic and interesting document is given both by Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Fraser. One of his arguments against concession was drawn from the manner in which the British had served Tippoo.

which place he encamped in the evening, at a village called Chougurha Mundee. Here, on the next day, a skirmish of posts took place, which brought on a serious action. The whole of the Ghoorkalese force, under Shumsheer Rana, was ultimately engaged, and the defeat they sustained was signal; their loss in killed and wounded exceeding, by their own acknowledgment, 800 men. Of the British, one officer and 44 men were killed; 175 wounded. The effect of this victory on the Court of Katmandoo was decisive. The red seal was hastily affixed to the rejected treaty, and an envoy was despatched to the British camp, to notify that it was ready for delivery. The Ghoorkalese negotiator finally presented the ratified treaty on his knees at the General's *durbar*, in the presence of all the *vakeels* in the camp. The articles were all punctually executed; but the Governor-General deemed it a politic act of conciliation, to give up such part of the *Turaee* as might not be required to form a straight and even frontier. That part which skirted the Oude dominions was retained, and, together with Khyreegurh, a *pergunnah* of Rohilcund, was made over to the Vizier, in extinction of the second loan of a crore of rupees, obtained from him during the war.* A small stripe, also, lying between the

* When Lord Hastings left the presidency for the upper provinces in June 1814, with the Nepaul war upon his hands, the finances of the Bengal Government were at a very low ebb. Great efforts had been used to make as large cash remittances to Europe as possible; and the state of the exchange with England was so unfavourable, that the sicca rupee came to be at a remittance value of 2*s.* 8*d.* (instead of 2*s.* 0½*d.*). The first mercantile houses at Calcutta were giving 12 per cent. on government securities for money. To raise a new loan, therefore, was out of the question. In this emergency, the hoards of the Nabob Vizier supplied a timely resource. Saadut Ali died July 11, 1814; and his son, Ghazee-uddeen Hyder, was raised to the *musnud*. Anxious to secure the

Mich-hee and the Teesta, was ceded to the Rajah of Sikkim, with whom a treaty of alliance and protection was concluded in February 1817. The Hon. E. Gardner was appointed Resident at Katmandoo. On the 20th of November, 1816, the young Rajah of Nepaul died of the small-pox, and was succeeded by his infant son, Raj Indur Bikrum Sah. This event contributed to establish more firmly the authority of the Thappa party, by giving General Bheim Sein another lease of uncontrolled dominion pending a second long minority.*

The ample employment which the Nepaulese war furnished to the Supreme Government, had rendered it necessary to maintain, in other quarters, a strictly defensive policy; although the formidable and rapidly augmenting power of the predatory tribes of Pindarries and Patans, produced a general conviction, that a systematic and extensive combination of measures would be eventually necessary for the suppression of this growing evil. Of these daring and lawless marauders, the reader will now require a more distinct account.

The origin of the Pindarries is involved in obscurity. Their name first occurs in Indian history about the year 1689, when one of their leaders is mentioned as an auxiliary of Mahratta plunderers.† They

favour of the Governor-General, as the means of securing himself against the rival pretensions of a younger brother, he readily came forward with a loan of a *crore* of rupees, to which he afterwards added eight *laks*; the interest being paid by relieving the Nabob from the payment of stipends to an equivalent amount. It was subsequently found necessary, through financial mismanagement, to borrow another *crore* of his Excellency on the same terms.—See Prinsep, vol. i. ch. vi.

* Prinsep, vol. i. ch. v.

† Poonapah Pindarry is mentioned as being, in the latter part of the reign of Aurungzebe, an auxiliary of Mahratta plunderers.

are said to have first appeared in the neighbourhood of Bejapoor. From obscure freebooters, they rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful allies by the Mahratta powers, whose desultory mode of warfare was suited to their predatory habits. Their aid was purchased by abandoning to them tracts of country which they had usurped, and by conceding to them a privilege of plundering, exceeding even the usual license given to a Mahratta army. Under this system, they assumed a rude organization; and their chiefs acquired sufficient reputation and influence to transmit to their descendants an hereditary claim to the service of their adherents. Tribes were cemented in federal union; and common motives and principles of action led to the establishment of something like a common interest throughout this lawless community. But, unlike the Mahrattas, they were unconnected by any bond of religious or of national feeling. Including men of every country and every faith, they were free from the prejudices of caste; and they were equally divested of the pride of soldiers, the principle of patriotism, and every moral tie of social attachment. They arose, says Sir John Malcolm, "like masses of putrefaction, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states;" and they have passed away like a contagion that has exhausted itself, leaving no trace but in the ravages they made.

The Pindarries who first settled in Central India, were introduced by the Mahrattas from the Deccan. Great numbers of them followed the army of the first Bajee Rao; and it is supposed to have been an object

The most popular conjecture as to the etymology of the term, Sir John Malcolm says, is, that they derived it from their dissolute habits leading them constantly to resort to the shops where an intoxicating drink was sold, termed *pinda*.—Malcolm. C. I. v. i. p. 433.

of that great man's policy, to draw them out of the Mahratta country. It is certain, that he left his Pindarries in Malwah with his officers, Sindia and Holkar; that they always attended their armies when they invaded the Mogul provinces; and that the Pindarries of each of these leaders distinguished themselves as *Sindia Shahee* and *Holkar Shahee*, or the followers, respectively, of those chiefs.

In 1794, Sindia assigned some lands to the Pindarries near the banks of the Nerbuddah, which they soon extended, by conquests from the *Grassias*, or independent landholders, in that neighbourhood. Their principal leaders, at that time, were two brothers, named Heeroo and Burrun, of the Mohammedan tribe of *Tooraee*.* Having, in 1797, encamped with about 5000 followers near Bersiah, they offered their services to the state of Bhopaul, that they might, under the sanction of its prince, invade

* Ghazi-ud-deen, the grand-father of Heeroo and Burrun, was a horseman in the service of the first Bajee Row, and died while employed with a detachment at Oojein. He was the son of a person named Chekun, who, as well as his father Nusroo, had been a *jemadar* of Bildars under Sevajee. This Nusroo was a Mohammedan of the *Tooraee* tribe. Ghazi-ud-deen left two sons, Gurdee Khan and Shah Baz Khan. The eldest, though only sixteen years of age, succeeded to the command of a party which was sent on all plundering excursions; and their successes pleased Mulhar Row Holkar so much, that he presented their chief with a golden flag (*zeree*). It was this distinction that first gave the Pindarries consequence as a body among the Mahrattas; and it has led to an erroneous belief that this class of troops was first introduced by Mulhar Row. Gurdee Khan remained attached to this leader through life, and left his camp or *durrah* to his son, Lal Mohammed; but his power fell into other hands. Shah Baz Khan, his brother, who was a child at the death of his father, Ghazi-ud-deen, when he grew up, entered into the service of Ranojee Sindia. He was killed in an action at Tonk, in the Jeypoor country, and left two sons, Heeroo (or Hera) and Burrun.—Malcolm. C. I. v. i. pp. 432—7.

and lay waste the territories of Nagpoor, with which government that petty state was then at war. Their offers being declined, they went to Nagpoor, where Rughoojee Bhonslah readily entertained them; and the first order which they received was, to lay waste the country of Bhopaul, at that time in a most flourishing condition. This service they performed so effectually, that the principality has not to this day recovered from their horrible ravages. The avarice of the Rajah was so excited by an exaggerated report of the booty they had obtained, that he not only surrounded and plundered their camp on their return to his capital, but seized Burrun, who died in confinement; while his brother, Heeroo, fled to Dowlut Rao Sindia at Poonah, and died soon afterwards at Asseerghur. The camp of Heeroo descended to his sons, Dost Mohammed and Wâsil Mohammed; and Burrun also left two sons, the two Rajuns. It was not till after some time, however, that they succeeded to any part of their father's influence; the pre-eminence devolving, in the first instance, upon other *sirdars*, according to their reputation as leaders.

Kureem Khan, a *Holkar-shahee* Pindara, who had acquired great booty in the plunder of the Nizam's troops after the battle of Kurdla, and was distinguished by superior cunning and enterprise, was the first that rose to consequence subsequently to the death of the two brothers. Being bought over by Sindia, who gave him the title of *Nuwab* with several assignments of land, he styled himself a *Sindia-shahee* Pindara, though he was frequently found in arms against his nominal master. The Berar Rajah, and the Hindoo chiefs of Bundelcund, also suffered from his depredadations; and at one time, by taking part in a civil war which he had excited in Bhopaul, he was very

near establishing his authority over the whole of that principality. The state was saved by the personal courage of Wuzeer (Vizir) Mohammed, with the assistance of Dost Mohammed, the son of Heeroo, who began about that time to rise into notice as the rival of Kureem. During the troubles consequent upon the war with the British, Kureem Khan contrived to gain possession of several districts in Malwah, belonging to Sindia's *jagheerdars;* and his territorial revenue is said to have amounted at this time to more than fifteen laks of rupees. He also wrested some territory from the Nabob of Bhopaul, on which he built a fort as a depository for his plunder, called after him, Kureemgurh. His power at length excited the jealousy of Sindia; and, in 1806, on pretence of lending him some artillery, that chief inveigled the Pindara to an interview, and having made him prisoner, plundered his camp, and recovered the usurped districts. For five years, Kureem was detained a close prisoner in the dungeons of Gwalior. His *durrah*, however, was not broken up, although reduced, by the defection of a great part of the *sirdars*, to between two and three thousand horse. A number of leaders now started up into consequence, of whom the most conspicuous were, Cheetoo * (or Seetoo), Dost Mohammed, Namdar Khan, and Shaikh Dulloo. All these associated themselves with Ameer Khan, in 1809, during his expedition into Berar. In 1811, Kureem purchased his release from Sindia for six *laks* of rupees, and, returning to the scene of his former power, in a very short

* Cheetoo was the son of a Jaut, a native of Mewat, near Delhi. He had been seized as a slave, but was afterwards adopted as *koonwur* (heir by adoption) by Doobulee Jemadar, the chief officer in the camp of Burrun, and who succeeded to his authority.

time recovered the greater part of his territories, and re-united all the Pindarry leaders under his standard. Even his rival, Cheetoo, was induced to join his *durrah;* and the *Dussera* of 1811 * was celebrated by an assemblage of not less than 25,000 cavalry, of all descriptions, besides several battalions of newly raised infantry. Kureem proposed to lead this formidable force against Nagpoor, the weakness of which state was notorious; but Cheetoo, always jealous of Kureem's ascendancy, was bought over by Rughoojee Bhonslay, and seceding from the alliance, afterwards co-operated with Sindia in effecting his rival's ruin. Having been completely defeated near Munohur Thana, Kureem was obliged to flee, with a few adherents, and seek refuge in the camp of his old patron, Ameer Khan, beyond the Chumbul. But the strong representations of Sindia and Holkar obliged the Patan chief to place him under restraint, in which he remained up to the end of 1816. In 1817, the Pindarries, under their various leaders, were estimated, at the lowest computation, at 15,000 horse, of whom about one half might be considered as fit for military service, the remainder being qualified only for the work of devastation and plunder; together with 1500 foot, and twenty guns. When joined by volunteers and adventurers from other native armies, they have occasionally amounted to more than twice that number.† Of the

* See page 122, *note.* This great festival takes place at the end of October or the beginning of November, by which time the rivers generally become fordable; and at this season, the standards of the Pindarry leaders were annually raised in the valley of the Nerbuddah.

† See Blacker's Mahratta War, p. 18. In 1814, the Pindarries were estimated by Captain Sydenham, political agent in Berar, to consist of the following numbers:—

general composition of their armies, and their mode of warfare, we have the following description.

"Until the close of the rains and the fall of the rivers, their horses were carefully trained, to prepare them for long marches and hard work. They were then shod; and a leader of tried courage and conduct having been chosen as *luhbureea*,* all that were so inclined, set forth on a *luhbur*, as it was called in the Pindaree nomenclature. These parties, latterly, consisted sometimes of several thousands. All were mounted, though not equally well: out of a thousand, the proportion of good cavalry might be 400. The favourite weapon was a bamboo spear, from twelve to eighteen feet long; but, as fire-arms were sometimes indispensable for the attack of villages, it was a rule, that every fifteenth or twentieth man of the fighting Pindarees should be armed with a matchlock. Of the remaining 600, two-thirds were usually common *looteeas*, indifferently mounted, and armed with every

		Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Sindia Shahee.	Cheetoo	8000	500	10
	Dost Mohammed	6000	800	5
	Kooshal Koowur and Namdar Khan	4000	0	0
		18,000	1,300	15
Holkar Shahee.	Kâdir Buksh Tookao Sahib Khan and Buhadur Khan	3000	200	3
		21,000	1,500	18

In this estimate, however, the name of Kureem does not appear, the remains of whose *durrah* was estimated at 2000 good horse, and 4000 of all sorts. See Prinsep, vol. i. p. 47, where the total estimate is carried as high as 30,000.

* The *Lubbiriahs*, Sir John Malcolm says, were not selected for each expedition; but their office in the *durrah* (or Pindarry camp) had an affinity to that of the *Herawul*, or leader of the van, among Rajpoots. Sometimes there was more than one chosen. The word *luhbur* signifies literally, *wave of the sea*.

variety of weapon, and the rest, slaves, attendants, and camp-followers, mounted on *tattoos* (wild poneys), and keeping up with the *luhbur* in the best manner they could. It is not surprising, that a body so constituted, and moving without camp-equipage of any kind, should traverse the whole of India in defiance of the most active pursuit by regular troops along the same line of march. Indeed, the rapidity with which they spread their devastations to the southern extremity of the Peishwa's and of the Nizam's territories, over an extent of not less than seven degrees of latitude from the Nerbuddah, baffled every attempt to interrupt or overtake them."* " Commencing with short marches of about ten miles, they gradually extended them to thirty or forty miles a day, until they reached some peaceful region against which their expedition was intended. Terror and dismay burst at once on the helpless population; villages were seen in flames; wounded and houseless peasants fleeing in all directions; fortified places shutting their gates, and keeping up a perpetual firing from the walls. The plunderers dispersed in small parties, and spread themselves over the whole face of the country; but all acting on a concerted plan, they swept round in a half circle, committing every sort of violence and excess,—torturing to extort money†, ravishing, murdering,

* Prinsep, i. 38.—For some time, and till the districts in Malwah, Marwar, and Mewar, and the whole of Rajpootana were exhausted, their ravages were chiefly confined to those countries and Berar. A few, however, ventured almost every year into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peishwa. For a long time, they respected the British territory, and even refrained from molesting British subjects.

† " The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by these miscreants, were, heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a

and burning in the defenceless villages, but seldom venturing on danger, unless the prospect of booty was very certain. When they approached a point on the frontier very distant from where they had entered, they united and went off in a body to their homes. While they continued their excesses, marauders of all descriptions sallied out to join them, or to profit by their presence, and whole districts became a scene of rapine and conflagration." *

The chief strength of the Pindarries lay in their being "intangible." If pursued, the horsemen made off with the most valuable part of the booty, and would perform marches of sixty or one hundred miles in two days, over rocks and hills impassable for horses unaccustomed to traverse them. They have been known to march three hundred miles in a week, and five hundred miles within a fortnight. If overtaken, they dispersed into small parties; those who were ill mounted or on foot, concealing themselves in the hills and jungles; and re-assembled at an appointed rendezvous. Their pursuers were fortunate, if they captured twenty men out of a thousand. No where did they present any point of attack; and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of some of their strong-holds, produced no effect beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter, whose place was instantly supplied by another of more desperate fortune.

The Pindarra was satisfied with the coarsest cake of wheat or *jowaree* for his meal; and sometimes his fare consisted of parched peas or other grain. His horse was

tobra or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes, and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible."

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 328–9.

as well treated as time and circumstances would allow. When not mounted, he grazed in the corn-fields, or on the grain itself, if cut down and stacked. He received an occasional stimulus of opium, with which his rider was usually provided, and was by that means enabled to endure excessive fatigue. The party halted during the heat of the day, and commonly took about half a night's rest. In general, the owner of the horse was the proprietor of the spoil; the rider retaining a fourth of his prize, if the horse was not his own property; but in a general scramble, it became impossible to know what the captors appropriated to themselves, or what proportion was transferred to the senior officers, and from them to the commander. In former times, the Pindarries delivered up a fourth of the spoil to the agents of the government they served; but latterly, they gave up nothing but elephants, palankeens, and *aftabjeers*. Sindia, however, found means to extort large sums from the Pindarry leaders in his service, to the payment of which their followers were all bound to contribute, according to their ability.*

Ameer Khan, the Patan chief, who had now attained a formidable pre-eminence, commanded forces of a very different description from those of the Pindarry leaders, although actuated by the same predatory spirit. His cavalry, instead of living avowedly on plunder alone, were paid by the month;† besides which, he had large bodies of infantry, and an artillery well manned, including the old battalions of Tukojee Holkar; the best in India, not under the actual com-

* Malcolm. C. I., vol. i. p. 431.—Memorandum, (MS.) by the late Capt. E. Edmunds, of the Madras Native Infantry, on the Staff of Colonel Walker. 1814.

† The Pindarry chiefs, however, maintained their household troops from the revenues of their *jagheers*.

mand of European officers. He represented, indeed, the Holkar interest, and made use of the sanction of his name, although employed in establishing a power virtually distinct. The chief difference between the Patans and the Pindarries, was, that the former were associated for the purpose of invading or plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate: the object of the latter was universal rapine. The Patans were military mercenaries; the Pindarries, cowardly and desperate banditti. In 1817, the whole force of Ameer Khan was estimated at 12,000 horse, with several indifferent battalions of infantry, and between two and three hundred guns.*

Against both of these descriptions of marauders, the British Government found it necessary to keep up an armed force, and to be constantly on the alert. The most effectual defensive measure seemed to be, the establishment of a subsidiary alliance with Rughoojee Bhonslay; but it was found impossible to surmount his repugnance and distrust; and a long negotiation, carried on through the British Resident, ended in a decided refusal on the part of the Rajah. The best alternative that then presented itself was, to extend the chain of positions from the British frontier in Bundelcund to the Nerbuddah, by means of a connexion with the states of Saugur and Bhopaul. And the immediate adoption of this bold stroke of policy appeared to Lord Hastings the more advisable, in consequence of information which he obtained of a pending negotiation between the Bhonslay and Sindia, for a treaty offensive and defensive, one object of which

* In 1809, 10, when Ameer Khan's power was at its zenith, he commanded between 30 and 40,000 horse; but many of them were Pindarries. See Blacker, p. 17. Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 389. Prinsep, vol. i. p. 51.

was the subjugation of the Bhopaul principality by their joint arms.* The territory of this state lies in the valley of the Nerbuddah, and above the hills to the north, between the meridians of 77° and 78° E. The government had been vested in a Patan family ever since the days of Aurungzebe, and its chiefs had been able to maintain their political independence against the most active efforts of the Mahrattas in the zenith of their military power.† The position of this state, immediately between the Nagpoor Rajah's dominions and those of Sindia, rendered it the particular object of jealousy to those sovereigns. Sindia had frequently attacked this state, and had even besieged its capital without success; owing partly to the incapacity of his commanders and the want of an efficient artillery, and partly to the gallantry and skill of Wuzeer Mohammed, the reigning Nabob. The preparations now made, however, by Sindia, for renewing the siege, were of so efficient a character, that the destruction of the

* "These negotiations were the prelude to the treaty of confederacy, of which the first article expressed the determination of these princes to serve and obey the Peishwa." Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 391. Another negotiation was in progress between Sindia and the ministers of Toolsee Bhye Holkar, which had also for its object, the consolidation of the Mahratta power. See Prinsep, vol. i. p. 232. Malcolm, C. I., vol. i. pp. 307, 8.

† When General Goddard, in 1778, effected his astonishing march across the whole breadth of the country, through regions till then almost unknown, (see p. 127,) the ultimate success of his enterprise was greatly attributable to his having found this independent principality mid-way on the line of march, and friendly to the English. This claim on the gratitude of the British, was urged with success by Vizier Mahomed, when threatened with chastisement by the forces under Colonel Close in 1809. The whole] history of this extraordinary adventurer, and in particular his heroic defence of Bhopaul in 1813, 14, partake of a romantic character.—See for the history of the Nabobs of Bhopaul, Malcolm's C. I. vol. i. ch. 9.

Patan Nabob seemed inevitable, and he earnestly solicited to be taken into alliance with the British. Sindia, when informed by the British Resident, that Bhopaul was to be considered as under the protection of the British Government, protested most vehemently against the measure, declaring the principality to be one of his dependencies, with which the British were solemnly pledged not to interfere. He even made demonstrations as if, in defiance of the troops assembled to support the negotiations, he would advance to the attack; but ultimately, his army was withdrawn. The Peishwa and Rughoojee Bhonslay assented with seeming cordiality to the proposed connexion between the British Government and Bhopaul. No agreement, however, took place either with Wuzeer Mohammed or with Govind Rao Nana, the chief of Saugur. The former, so long as he was threatened by Sindia, not only appeared to accede to the proffered terms, but gave out that he was under British protection; but, when the danger subsided, he objected to the conditions, and the negotiation was broken off.

Wuzeer Mohammed died on the 17th of March, 1816, and was succeeded by his son, Nuzzer Mohammed. On the 22d of the same month, Rughoojee Bhonslay expired. His only son and successor, Pursajee, whose intellects were always weak, fell soon afterwards into a state of idiocy; and his cousin, Moodajee, usually styled Appa Sahib, was chosen regent, though not without considerable opposition. To secure an ascendancy by no means fully established, Appa Sahib applied to the British Resident, to be admitted to the defensive alliance before proposed to Rughoojee. His request was promptly acceded to; and a treaty was finally executed on the 27th of May, by which the British agreed to furnish him six bat-

talions and a regiment of cavalry, for which he was to pay annually, in money, the sum of seven *laks* and a half of rupees. This event struck a serious blow at the power of the Mahratta confederacy; and the rage of the opposite faction at Nagpoor, to whom the arrival of the English troops conveyed the first intimation of the treaty, exceeded all bounds. For some time, the Regent did not feel himself safe from personal violence, and withdrew to a garden-house in the neighbourhood of the British cantonments. But, no sooner did he feel himself secure in the elevation he had reached, than, dismissing from their stations the ministers who had been instrumental in forming the subsidiary alliance, he entered into an active secret correspondence with the Court of Poonah, which was at that time the nucleus of the powerful confederacy secretly forming against the English. Apprehensive, however, that, if he threw off the support of the British Government during the lifetime of Pursajee, a party might be raised to endanger his own power, he caused the young Rajah to be secretly strangled in the night; and the next morning (February 1, 1817) it was announced, and believed, that he had been found dead in his bed.*

In the mean time, the aggressions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased; and, during the season of 1815–16 (October–May), they had pushed their depredations to a great extent with unusual success. For twelve days, they remained within the Company's frontier, committing all sorts of depredations and cruelties.† It was afterwards ascertained, that the

* Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 339—368. Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 393—5. Malcolm, P. H. vol. i. pp. 464, 5.

† The *Dussera* of 1815 had been celebrated at Cheetoo's cantonment of Nemawur, by a greater concourse of Pindarries than had

Pindarry leaders had, this season, come to a resolution to respect the territories of the Mahratta chiefs, and to direct their ravages chiefly, if not exclusively, against those of the Nizam and the British Government. To obviate the suspicions this circumstance was adapted to waken, the Peishwa sent a party of horse to plunder in his own country, who gave themselves out to be Pindarries.* Sindia professed the

ever before been assembled at one point. On the 14th of October, a body of nearly 8000 of all descriptions was ascertained to have crossed the Nerbuddah, and to have taken a southern direction. They soon broke into two parties, and, notwithstanding a partial surprise, continued their depredations till they reached the Krishna. The territories of the Madras Presidency, on the southern bank, were saved, at this time, by the fortuitous circumstance of the river continuing unfordable so unusually late as the 20th of November. Turning eastward, the freebooters plundered the country along the northern bank, till, on reaching the frontier of Masulipatam, they shaped their course northward, and returned along the line of the Godavery and Wurda to Nemawur. "The plunder obtained in this *luhbur*, was greater than that of any previous expedition; insomuch that merchants were sent for from Oojein, to purchase many of the valuables obtained, those of Nemawur not being sufficiently wealthy." So elated were they with this success, that a second expedition was planned and proclaimed very soon after; and, by the 5th of February, 10,000 Pindarries were on their way towards the S.S.E. On the 12th, they reached Guntoor, in the Northern Circars, where they plundered a considerable part of the town; and thence, hurrying off to the westward, and making a march of fifty-two miles the next day, they swept through part of the Cuddapa district, re-crossed the Krishna on the 22d of March, and retraced their steps to the Nerbuddah, by various routes, eluding all their pursuers. During the twelve days that they remained within the Company's districts, it was ascertained, that 339 villages were plundered, 182 individuals put to a cruel death, 505 severely wounded, and 3603 subjected to different kinds of torture. No fewer than 25 women drowned themselves to escape violation. The private loss of individuals was estimated at two laks and a half of pagodas, or about 100,000*l.* sterling.—Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 328—334.

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 395. They were sent by Trimbukjee, in the end of 1816, or early in 1817, into the Southern Concan, where they committed great excesses.

greatest desire to suppress them, but they were openly countenanced by his commanders; and it was manifest that both Sindia and Holkar were alike unwilling and unable to restrain their dependents.

The events which had occurred at Poonah during the first three years of Lord Hastings's administration, now demand to be briefly adverted to, as they afforded the occasion of those subsequent measures which terminated in the final subversion of the Mahratta confederacy, of which the Peishwa was the acknowledged head. For the ten years subsequent to the treaty of Bassein, nothing occurred to interrupt the good understanding between the British Government and the Court of Poonah. Bajee Row, secure against foreign attack, paid great attention to the improvement of his territories and resources; and though he manifested a disposition to keep up secret communications with the Mahratta princes and chiefs who were before nominally subject to his power, (contrary to the terms of the treaty,) these were rather winked at; not being suspected of having any dangerous tendency. Some discontent was produced by his being obliged, in 1812, to renounce a groundless claim of sovereignty over the petty states of Kolapoor and Sawunt-Warree, which was referred to the arbitration of the British Government. But, the ascendancy which the infamous Trimbukjee Dainglia established over the councils of his master about the year 1815, is assigned, by Sir John Malcolm, as the date from which the Peishwa may be considered as having decidedly changed his policy, and commenced his intrigues against the British Government.

Trimbukjee was originally a menial servant. His first step to favour is said to have been the prominent part that he acted in the scenes of debauchery which

disgraced the palace of his master, to whom he recommended himself by being the ready instrument to promote the gratification of his passions. He was first brought forward as an ostensible minister in 1814. His rise was so rapid, that, in a few months, this worthless favourite had no rival. He was now appointed to conduct the intercourse with the British Resident, Mr. Elphinstone, who "observed, from the moment that Bajee Row committed his affairs to this bold and bad man, so decided a change of tone and measures, such arrogant language and undisguised ambition, that he foretold, at a very early period, its probable effects upon the alliance between the two states." * The assassination of the Guikwar's minister, Gangadhur Shastree, by this miscreant, in 1816, justified the Resident in demanding his removal. The Shastree had come to Poonah to negotiate a settlement of accounts between his master and the Peishwa, through the mediation and under the guaranteed protection of the British Government. He was murdered by Trimbukjee, in a pagoda at Punderpoor,† under circumstances which left no doubt that the deed was perpetrated with the know-

* Malcolm, P. H. vol. i. p. 469.

† Punderpoor is a town in Bejapoor, on the Bheema, 86 miles S.E. of Poonah. It is deemed a holy city, on account of a celebrated temple dedicated to an *avatar* of Vishnoo; and, according to the Brahmins, even the lands around it are holy ground. Almost all the principal Mahratta families have dwellings there. Bajee Row had earnestly solicited the Shastree to accompany him thither; with what design, it afterwards became evident. The sacrilegious outrage of murdering, within the precincts of a holy shrine, a Brahmin of high rank, the accredited minister of another state, was a crime of the most aggravated atrocity. The details are given in Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 290—294. The indifference manifested upon the subsequent downfall of the Peishwa, is believed to have been, in great measure, owing to its being regarded as a retributive visitation for his participation in this crime.

ledge of Bajee Row; but there was no wish to ground any proceeding upon this suspicion. It was deemed sufficient to compel the Peishwa to imprison, and afterwards deliver up, his worthless favourite; and the conduct of the British, on this occasion, towards the murderer of a Brahmin, was regarded throughout India as even lenient.

Bajee Row was, however, only stimulated by this event; to prosecute with increased eagerness his intrigues against the British Government; and, sensible that the master-spirit was wanting, he was most urgent in his solicitations for the release of the culprit. That which was refused to his entreaties, was effected by the address of the prisoner, and the negligence of those who had the charge of him. Trimbukjee made his escape from the fort of Tannah in September 1816.* For three months, he remained in concealment; but, at length, it was discovered that he was on the Mahadeo hills, to the south of the Neera, collecting troops; and that Bajee Row was in secret correspondence with him, seeking to promote a rebellion ostensibly against his own government, and which he was perfidiously calling upon the British to take measures to repress. Large remittances of money to the parts of the country in insurrection, were traced through several hands, in a manner that left no room to doubt their having been made from Bajee Row to Trimbukjee and his adherents; and the Resident received positive information of actual interviews between his Highness and the delinquent at a village about fifteen miles from Poonah. At the same time, extensive levies of horse and foot were

* Bishop Heber tells the story of his escape very poetically, Travels, vol. i. p. 385; and Mr. Prinsep, circumstantially, vol. i. p. 392. His escape gained him a degree of popularity which he had never enjoyed while in power.—See also Grant Duff, v. iii. p. 377.

going on, even at Poonah and the vicinity; and the Peishwa's agents were sent with money into Malwah and other quarters, to invite men to the Deccan to enter his service. By removing his treasures from Poonah, and giving orders to repair and garrison his forts, while he denied the existence of any insurrection or of any levies, Bajee Row left no room to doubt his hostile intentions. About the middle of March, therefore, the British Resident resolved to call down the subsidiary force, to act forthwith in the suppression of the insurrection, and eventually, if requisite, against Poonah. On the 20th of April, he deemed it necessary to increase the British force at Poonah, while awaiting the full instructions of the Governor-General. These arrived on the 18th of May, and directed that Bajee Row should be required, as the only alternative of war, to surrender Trimbukjee; to renounce the supremacy of the Mahratta empire; and to make certain cessions of territory in Malwah, Gujerat, and the Deccan, (including the fort of Ahmednuggur,) for the purpose of maintaining a force destined to replace the contingent of his Highness's troops, stipulated by the treaty of Bassein. The conduct of Bajee Row during the whole of these transactions, was marked by low cunning and the vacillation produced by the alternate ascendancy of hope and fear, pride and despair. After a severe struggle and trying every means of evasion, he affixed his name to the prescribed treaty on the 18th of June. In these proceedings, Bajee Row was evidently regarded and treated as an enemy; and as all hope of his being restored to a friendly feeling towards the British must have been at an end, the only object was, to avert the local danger, and to deprive him of a portion of that power which he was

likely to employ in counteracting the plans then in progress for the destruction of the Pindarries.*

The Governor-general had come to the resolution, as early as December 1816, to take measures for effectually suppressing the Pindarries; and the Court of Directors † had, in consequence of his Lordship's repeated representations, given their sanction to offensive operations to the extent of driving them from their haunts on the banks of the Nerbuddah and from Malwah. The views of the Marquis of Hastings, however, were more comprehensive, and embraced their complete suppression, by eradicating the predatory system from Central India. Berar was supposed to be settled by the late subsidiary alliance; and the Peishwa, crippled by the treaty of Poonah, might, it was hoped, see the necessity of refraining from hostilities, secret or avowed, if he wished to retain the territory still left to him. The plan of the Governor-General, therefore, embraced principally the possessions of Sindia, Holkar, the Rajpoots, the Bhopaul Nabob, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Armies were to be assembled round these countries, which were to close in, by simultaneous movements, to a common centre, so as to hem in the Pindarries and their abettors at all points; provision being made for the possible event of the enemy's passing this barrier, as well as for the defence of the British territory. His Lordship "did not hesitate boldly to assume the principle, that, in

* Malcolm, P. H., vol. i. pp. 478—82. Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 432—456. In consequence of this treaty with the Peishwa, by which important advantages were secured to the Baroda prince, a supplementary treaty was concluded with that chief in November, the most important article of which transferred to the British Government the possession of Ahmedabad, the Mohammedan capital of Gujerat.

† Or rather, the Board of Control, of which Mr. Canning was now President.—Malcolm, vol. i. p. 486.

the operations against the Pindarries, no power could be suffered to remain neutral, but all should be required to join the league for their suppression." * The orders for the simultaneous execution of this extensive plan throughout India, were issued towards the end of September 1817. The army which took the field in Bengal, consisted of about 34,000 regulars, of which nearly 5000 were cavalry. The forces of the Deccan, which were placed under the orders of Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-Chief of the army of Fort St. George, (including a reserve division at Adwanee, the Gujerat division, and the troops left for the protection of Poonah, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor,) amounted to upwards of 57,000 regulars, of which 5255 were cavalry. Besides these, there were attached to the respective grand divisions, about 23,000 irregular horse. Of the hostile forces, or those against whose possible hostility it was deemed necessary to provide, the following estimate presents the probable aggregate.†

	Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Sindia	14,250	16,250	140
Holkar.....	20,000	7,940	107
Peishwa	28,000	13,800	37
Bhonslay.....	15,766	17,826	85
Ameer Khan....	12,000	10,000	200
Nizam.....	25,000	20,000	—
Pindarries.....	15,000	1,500	20
	130,016	87,316	589

* Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 21.

† Blacker, p. 19, to which able work we must refer for the details and authorities. The irregular force of the Nizam is included, "notwithstanding the difficulty of deciding whether he should be considered able, as well as inclined, to be hostile. His personal character was inactive and imbecile; while the discontented spirit of some of his sons, added to the restlessness of a

The four principal Bengal divisions were appointed to rendezvous at Rewaree, Agra, Secundra (near Kalpee), and Kalinjur in Bundelcund. Two divisions in reserve, intended as detachments of observation, were stationed, the one under Brigadier-General Toone, on the Upper Soane, the other under Brigadier-General Hardyman, on the Upper Nerbuddah. The Bundelcund division, under General Marshall, was to advance with the Deccan army against the Pindarries The Rewaree division, under Major-General Ochterlony, was intended to expedite the arrangements with the Rajpoots, and to co-operate in overawing the Patans or in attacking the Pindarries. The main body, assembled at Sekundra, which was under the personal command of the Governor-General, was to cross the Jumna by a bridge of boats, a little above Kalpee, and marching due west, to occupy a position south of Gwalior; while the Agra division, under Major-General Donkin, took up its station at Dholpoor, immediately to the northward. This judicious manœuvre, which was prepared with celerity and secrecy, and executed with complete success, placed Sindia's camp between the two divisions, leaving him no other alternative, in the

numerous armed population, rendered dubious, at the least, the turn which affairs might take at Hyderabad under the supposition of British reverses. It is certain, that, in the instructions to Sir Thomas Hislop, he was directed to provide for the support of the British predominancy at that capital. Secret overtures were also made to the Nizam on the part of the Peishwa, through agents despatched for that purpose, but who were secured by the activity of the Resident." Ib. p. 14. Some disturbances had, in fact, occurred at Hyderabad, in 1815, which produced an application from the Resident for an additional force, as a security against the evidently hostile disposition of the Patan population, who were headed and encouraged by the Nizam's two youngest sons.—See Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 262—6.

event of his not submitting, than either to shut himself up in Gwalior, or to repair to his distant dominions, and join the Pindarries.

The Marquis of Hastings embarked at Calcutta on the 9th of July, and on the 13th of September, arrived at Cawnpoor, whence he issued his general orders for the campaign. On the 20th of October, he assumed the command of the grand army at Secundra, and immediately advanced against Sindia's capital. "His Lordship had received the most undoubted proof that Sindia was pledged to the Pindarries to support them, and was aware that his taking the field would be followed by the resistance of Ameer Khan, as well as by that of other powers, whose hostility he was instigating. Sindia's negotiations were conducted with all the secrecy in his power, and he flattered himself with complete success in that respect; but the admirable dexterity with which all his schemes were detected, and even copies of his correspondence obtained, forms by no means the least happy part of his Lordship's arrangement. The possession of the most correct information, while it enabled Lord Hastings to adopt the plan most suited to the actual state of affairs, relieved him from all ties founded on anterior treaties."* Sindia was now required to concur in the object of the expedition, by placing his troops at the disposal of the British Government, a British officer superintending each of the principal divisions; he was to furnish

* Blacker, p. 52. Besides his intrigues with Bajee Row and the Pindarries, a secret correspondence between him and the Court of Katmandoo had very recently been detected. A full-size impression of Sindia's seal, happened to drop from the turban of one of his emissaries, which attracted suspicion; and on searching him and his companion, letters from Sindia were found neatly pasted between the leaves of a Sanscrit book of the Vedas.—Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 32.

5000 horse, to be employed under the direction of British officers against the Pindarries; and as a security for the fulfilment of his engagement, he was to place the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur in our hands during the war. The approach of the British armies induced him reluctantly to set his hand to the treaty imposed upon him, on the 5th of November; but he endeavoured for some time to evade its stipulations, while watching the result of what was passing with the other Mahratta powers. Soon after he had signed the treaty, General Donkin's division proceeded to the westward; but the Marquis of Hastings continued to move about to the southward of Gwalior, to watch the motions of Sindia, on whom it was evident no dependence could be placed till some decided blow should be struck. His ostensible defection from a cause, the success of which rested chiefly on his efforts, was a fatal blow, however, not only to the Pindarries, but to that more general combination, the designs of which had been so ably anticipated. *

Ameer Khan followed the example of Sindia, and agreed to disband his army, on condition of having secured to him the integrity of the dominions of which he was in the actual tenure, under grants from Holkar. The Kerowlee chief, Rajah Manikpal, formerly a dependent of the Peishwa, signed a treaty on the same day, by which he acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and was guaranteed in his possessions; he agreed also to furnish troops to the extent of his means. Zalim Singh, the able regent of Kotah, immediately acceded to the terms proposed; he blocked up the passes in his country, and furnished a contingent to act with the British troops. In Bundel-

* See Lord Hastings's despatch.—Malcolm, P. H., vol. i. p. 494.

cund, Winaek Rao, the chief of Saugur, refused the proffered terms; the Rajah of Simpthur and the Soubahdar of Jhansee readily accepted them; and the Nabob of Bhopaul entered most heartily into the cause.

In the mean time, the Pindarries, aware that the English meditated offensive operations against them, had been actively employed, during the rains, in recruiting their *durrahs;* but the want of cordiality among the chiefs prevented their fixing upon any consistent and combined plan of action. They were cantoned in three bodies, under Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed. Sheikh Dulloo, the most adventurous of all the chiefs, declared his intention of joining Trimbukjee at Cholee Muheshwur, and seeking his fortune in another expedition to the Deccan. The rest were distracted, and inclined to wait the issue of the expected rise of the Mahrattas. A bold enterprise was, however, attempted from the *durrah* of Wasil Mohammed at Garspoor. An active *luhbur* was sent out in a north-easterly direction, to plunder the British territories in Bundelcund, which penetrated, by the Heerapoor Ghaut, to the westward of General Marshall's route, as far north as Mow, near Raneepoor; when, having intelligence of the approach of a British detachment from Jaloun, (where the British head-quarters were then stationed,) they retired again to the south-west.

During this diversion, the left division under General Marshall advanced to Rylee, where it arrived on the 10th of November. On the same day, General Sir Thomas Hislop reached Hurda, and took the command of the first division of the Deccan army. Brigadier-general Sir John Malcolm had arrived in the valley of the Nerbuddah some time before. Every thing

was now in readiness for the combined movement that was to drive the Pindarries out of Malwah. In expectation of this result, the Gujerat force had advanced to Dohud, to intercept their escape westward; and Lord Hastings, having concluded the treaty with Sindia, moved his own division to a position that should prevent their penetrating to the north or east; while he ordered General Donkin to advance from Dholpoor in a south-westerly direction, so as to guard the left bank of the Chumbul, and cut off any retreat on that side. It had been planned, that one of Sir Thomas Hislop's divisions should penetrate into Malwah by the route of Ashta, while another moved by the more westerly route of Oonchode. The fifth, or Nagpoor division, under Colonel Adams, was at the same time to advance upon Rassein; while General Marshall marched from Rylee on Saugur and Ratgurh.

The execution of this plan was interrupted by intelligence which reached Sir Thomas Hislop, that the Peishwa had risen in arms. On the very day of the signature of the treaty with Sindia at Gwalior, Bajee Row had thrown off the mask, and commenced hostilities.

During the whole of October, Bajee Row had been collecting troops from all parts, under the pretence of aiding in the Pindarry war;* but his real designs

* In an interview with Sir John Malcolm (as political agent to the Governor General), at Maholy near Satara, in July preceding, the Peishwa, while he complained of the degraded state in which he had been left by the late treaty, made warm professions of gratitude to the British; and Sir John was so completely deceived by his apparent candour and cordiality, that he returned with the full conviction that he would heartily engage in the British cause. With this view, he recommended the Peishwa to recruit his army. Mr. Elphinstone foretold a different result.—Grant Duff, vol. iii., pp. 225—9.

were inferred by the Resident from various indications; particularly from the discovery of several efforts to seduce the sepoys of the brigades, as well as those of Major Ford's battalions, to desert their colours. The native officers and men of the regular corps were generally proof against his solicitations, and acquainted their officers with the attempts made to tamper with them. But in Major Ford's battalions, there was a large proportion of Mahrattas; and it was natural that they should be won over. It was the Peishwa's wish, previously to the commencement of hostilities, to invite Mr. Elphinstone to a conference and murder him; but this plan was opposed by Bappoo Gokla, now the leader of all his measures, who, though he concurred in the scheme of corrupting the sepoys, disdained to perpetrate so base a crime; more especially, as Mr. Elphinstone had more than once proved himself a friend. The last interview which took place between Mr. Elphinstone and the Peishwa, was on the 14th of October, at which his Highness renewed his expressions of amity and gratitude towards the British Government, and his assurances that his troops should be sent to the frontier, to co-operate against the Pindarries, immediately after the approaching *dusserah*. That festival was celebrated on the 19th, with unusual military pomp; and every succeeding day, the arrival of fresh parties of troops, rendered the situation of the Resident and of the subsidiary brigade, more critical. General Smith's force was now at a distance, having advanced towards Kandeish; and the European regiment ordered from Bombay could not be expected in less than ten days. Small parties of horse now came out and encamped round the British cantonment. These, in a few days, were

augmented to large bodies, while a strong corps of infantry occupied a position on one of the flanks. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Mr. Elphinstone was unwilling to be the first to have recourse to measures of avowed hostility; and he confined himself to remonstrating against the conduct and temper of the troops who were crowding in upon the position of the brigade.* Night after night passed in anxious suspense. Still, the Peishwa hesitated; and when Gokla recommended that the attack should not be delayed, he urged, that every hour was adding to his army, and that he wished a little more time to make sure of corrupting the sepoys. On the 30th, the Bombay regiment, which the Peishwa believed to be still at a great distance, marched into the cantonment.

The Resident now determined on removing the troops from the very exposed position which they occupied, adjoining the northern environs of the city, to the village of Kirkee, four miles distant; and they accordingly took up their ground here on the 1st of November.† The Peishwa's army, supposing that the British troops had withdrawn through fear, were much encouraged by this movement; the old cantonment was plundered, and the conduct of the Mahrattas became increasingly daring and insolent. The Peishwa

* Nothing can be more admirable than the fortitude, self-possession, and cool judgement which Mr. Elphinstone displayed in this trying emergency. Captain Grant Duff's narrative, which we follow, is that of an eye-witness.

† The site of the cantonment had been judiciously chosen, as regarded the defence of the city against external attack; but it was particularly open to surprise; and being on the right bank of the Moola, both the river and the city were between the brigade and the Residency. By moving the troops to Kirkee, the Residency was between them and the enemy.

now believed, from the reports of his emissaries, that the sepoys were completely seduced.* On the 4th of November, Moro Dikshut, the Peishwa's minister, who had formed a warm attachment to Major Ford, and was anxious to save him, communicated this circumstance; adding, that his master was determined to cut off the British detachment without sparing a man; that he had exerted himself to the utmost to dissuade his prince from the course he was pursuing, but that the counsels of Gokla had prevailed; and he advised him to stand neuter, when his property should be spared, and his family protected. Upon Major Ford's telling him, that he would immediately join his countrymen, the worthy Hindoo took an affectionate leave of him, promising to befriend his family, and exacting a similar engagement on behalf of his own, in case the event should prove adverse to the cause which he reluctantly espoused.†

On the next day, (Nov. 5,) news of the approach of a light battalion from Seroor, determined the irresolute Peishwa no longer to defer the attack; but he kept up the system of deception to the last, sending word to the Resident, that he was about to perform a religious ceremony at the temple of Parbuttee; and in the afternoon, when all was in readiness, he despatched a messenger with complaints and frivolous demands. Scarcely had this last emissary quitted the Residency,

* Many of the sepoys behaved with admirable fidelity. Not one of the regular service left his colours.

† Until this communication was made, Major Ford, though in daily intercourse with the city, was perfectly confident that the Peishwa had no intention of going to war. By a singular fatality, Moro Dikshut was mortally wounded in the ensuing action, by a grape-shot from one of the guns attached to the battalion of his friend, Major Ford.

than intelligence was brought, that the Mahratta army was moving out on the west side of the city. Mr. Elphinstone and the gentlemen attached to his suite had barely time to mount their horses, and retire by the ford of the Moola, under cover of the Resident's honorary guard, before the enemy arrived and took possession of the place, which they plundered and burned. The Resident's party made good their retreat along the left bank of the Moola, skirmishing with some horse that followed, and under the fire of Gokla's battalion from the opposite side of the river. The fighting commenced a few minutes after Mr. Elphinstone had joined Colonel Burr's brigade by the Kirkee bridge.

It had been previously concerted, that the brigade should advance from their position, and fight the battle in the plain between Kirkee and the city; and the Mahrattas were a little damped by this forward movement in troops whom they were encouraged to believe already spiritless. The Peishwa's heart failed him. After the troops had advanced, he sent a message to Gokla, desiring him to be sure not to fire the first gun. Gokla, suspecting the nature of the messenger's errand, instantly commenced the attack, by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket-camels to the right, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. The British troops were soon nearly surrounded with horse; but the Mahratta infantry were, by this rapid advance, left considerably in the rear, except a regular battalion under a Portuguese, named De Pinto, which had marched by a shorter route. No sooner were their red coats and colours descried by the English sepoys, than they pushed forward to close, and, in their eagerness, got detached

from the rest of the line. Gokla, perceiving this, directed a spirited charge, which was observed by Colonel Burr just in time to recall his men from the pursuit of De Pinto's battalion. Fortunately, there was a deep slough, of which neither party was aware, immediately in front of the British left. The foremost of the horses rolled over; and many, before they could be pulled up, tumbled over those in front. The fire, hitherto reserved, was now given with great effect; numbers fell, the confusion became extreme, and the force of the charge was completely checked. A very small proportion came in contact with the bayonets, and the sepoys had nearly repulsed the attack before a company of Europeans could come to their support. This failure completely disconcerted the Mahrattas: they began to drive off their guns; their infantry retired from the distant position they occupied; and upon the advance of the British line, the whole field was cleared. The brigade returned to its position at Kirkee after night-fall; and the light battalion and auxiliary horse joined it next morning. The report of their arrival, and this forward movement, deterred Gokla from renewing the attack. The whole number of the British troops engaged in this affair, including Major Ford's battalion, (part of whom deserted,) was 2800 rank and file, of whom about 800 were Europeans. The loss was 186 killed, and 57 wounded. The Mahratta army consisted of 18,000 horse and 8000 foot, with 14 guns, (not reckoning 5000 horse and 2000 foot, stationed with the Peishwa on the Parbuttee hill,) and their loss amounted to 500 in killed and wounded.*

* Grant Duff, vol. iii., pp. 420—427. Prinsep, vol. ii. pp. 49—62. Blacker, 65—70. Not the least remarkable circumstance of this battle was the coolness and firmness of Colonel Burr, who had lost the use of one side from a paralytic stroke, which had impaired

In the mean while, General Smith, finding all communications intercepted, marched with his division towards Poonah, which he reached on the 13th, although much harassed, owing to his want of regular cavalry, by flying parties of Mahrattas. Preparations were made for attacking the Peishwa's army on the 17th. On the previous evening, an advanced brigade, which was ordered to cross the ford, and take up a position in readiness, was opposed by a body of the Peishwa's infantry, and did not gain its station without loss; but in the morning, when General Smith moved towards the enemy's camp, he found it abandoned. The Peishwa had retired during the night, leaving his tents standing, and was in full retreat towards Satarah. The city surrendered during the day; and on the 22d, having been joined by a regiment of native cavalry, General Smith commenced the pursuit of the fugitive army.

Appa Sahib, the Nagpoor Rajah, afforded the British troops similar employment. He appears to have exhibited an equal degree of vacillation, as well as of duplicity. To the last, he was profuse in his professions of friendship towards the Resident (Mr. Jenkins); and inveighed bitterly against the conduct of Bajee Row in treacherously attacking the English. On the night of the 24th of November, however, he sent to inform the Resident, that a *khelaut* had arrived for him from the Peishwa, who had also sent him a *juree putka* (golden streamer), and conferred upon him the title of *Sena-puttee;* that he intended to go in state to his camp, to receive these honours, the next day; and he invited the Resident to be present at the ceremony. Remonstrance was, of course, unavailing.

both his mental and physical powers; but he was yet foremost in the post of honour.

The insignia were received; and the Rajah's troops immediately took up positions in the vicinity of the Residency, so menacing, that Mr. Jenkins was induced to call in the brigade from its cantonment. The whole force at Nagpoor then consisted of two battalions of native infantry, (both considerably reduced by sickness,) two companies forming the Resident's escort, three troops of Bengal cavalry, and four six-pounders, manned by Europeans. The Residency lies to the west of the city, and is separated from it by a small ridge, running north and south, having two eminences at its extremities, about 380 yards apart; * they are called the Seetabuldee hills. Upon that to the north, which is the smaller and the higher of the two, were posted 300 men, with one of the six-pounders, under Captain Sadler. The other battalion and the escort were stationed on the larger hill, with the remainder of the infantry and artillery; and the three troops of cavalry, under Captain Fitzgerald, occupied the inclosures surrounding the Residency. At sunset of the 26th of November, as the British picquets were about to be placed, they were fired at by the Rajah's Arab infantry. Immediately after, his artillery opened on the position, which was answered by the British from the hills; and a smart fire was maintained on both sides, with little intermission, till two o'clock in the morning. By this time, the British had sustained a heavy loss, particularly on the smaller hill, which the Arabs had made frequent attempts to carry. Captain Sadler was killed, and the second in command was wounded, in the defence of this important point. The

* In Captain Grant Duff's account, they are said to be only thirty yards from each other; probably a press error. Other variations occur, but we have in this instance preferred Mr. Prinsep's as the more official statement.

rest of the night was anxiously occupied in making up fresh cartridges, and in placing along the brow of the hill, sacks of flour and wheat, and any thing else capable of affording cover to the men. At day-break, the attack was renewed with great fury, additional guns having been brought to bear upon the position during the night. About ten o'clock, an accident which happened to the screw of a gun on the smaller hill, created some confusion, rendering it for a few minutes unserviceable. The Arabs saw their opportunity, and rushing forward with loud cries, charged up the hill, sword in hand, and carried it, before the gun and the wounded could be brought off. The latter were all put to the sword. The Arabs now turned the gun against the British post on the other hill, and with it two more guns of their own, with most destructive effect. Emboldened by this success, the enemy's horse and foot closed in from every direction, and prepared for a general assault. To add to the appalling difficulties of this crisis, the Arabs had now got into the huts of the British troops to the west of the smaller hill; and the shrieks of the women and children contributed not a little to damp the courage of the sepoys. At this critical moment, seeing the impending destruction, Captain Fitzgerald made a most unexpected and daring charge upon the principal body of the enemy's horse,* drove them from two guns, by which they were supported, turned these upon the enemy, and retired dragging them back into the Residency grounds. The

* "Captain Fitzgerald had repeatedly applied for permission to charge, and was as often prevented by orders from the commanding officer. Seeing the impending destruction, he made a last attempt to obtain leave. Colonel Scott's reply was:—'Tell him to charge at his peril.' 'At my peril be it,' said the gallant Fitzgerald, and immediately gave the word to advance."—Grant Duff.

infantry posted on the hill witnessed this brilliant exploit with loud huzzas; and soon after, the explosion of a tumbril among the Arabs on the smaller hill, afforded an opportunity that had been eagerly watched for, of recovering the post "with the cold iron." The tide of success had now turned. The Arabs were pursued down the hill in confusion, and a troop of cavalry, charging round the base of the hill, and taking them in flank, succeeded in dispersing them. By noon, this most trying conflict had ceased. Its fatigues and anxieties had continued without intermission for eighteen hours. The British had not 1400 men fit for duty, while the army of Appa Sahib amounted to 18,000 men, half of whom were infantry. The numerical loss was about equal on both sides: that of the British amounted, by the returns, to 367, (more than a fourth of those engaged,) including four officers killed and eleven wounded.*

Being thus disgracefully foiled in his treacherous attempt, Appa Sahib sent *vakeels* to the Resident, to express his sorrow at what had occurred, and to disavow his having authorized the attack; but Mr. Jenkins refused to treat with him until he disbanded his troops, though he agreed to a suspension of hostilities. Reinforcements now poured into Nagpoor from all quarters, and before the middle of December, General Doveton arrived with the whole second division.† The

* Prinsep, vol. ii. pp. 67–82. Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 445–450. Blacker, 112–115.

† The weakness and irresolution of Appa Sahib in thus tamely abandoning a cause by no means desperate at this period, were most conspicuous. Had he, instead of remaining idle at Nagpoor, retired with his army unbroken, he might have prolonged the contest indefinitely, and, by giving occupation to a large proportion of our military force, have at least prevented the concentration of means for the destruction of his confederate, the Peishwa. The

absolute submission of Appa Sahib was now demanded, with which, after some hesitation, by repairing to the Residency, he appeared to comply; but, on advancing to take possession of his guns, a cannonade was opened upon the British troops, and they were not taken without the loss of 141 men in killed and wounded. Two of the Rajah's officers maintained this resistance, one of whom afterwards went off, and joined Bajee Row at Sholapoor: the other, with the Arabs, retired to the fort of Nagpoor, where they repulsed an assault, but finally surrendered, on being allowed to march out with their property and arms. The reserve division of the Bengal army, under General Hardyman, which had been ordered down to Nagpoor on the first news of Appa Sahib's defection, met and routed, on the 19th, a body of the enemy assembled at Jubbulpoor, and having reduced that place, occupied the whole of the Rajah's northern territory except Dhamounee, Chouragurh, and Mundelah. These were subsequently reduced by General Marshall.

In the mean time, as Appa Sahib had personally complied with the demands of the Resident, it was thought proper to re-instate the fallen prince on the *guddee* (throne), with the semblance of sovereign authority. But the Resident "resolved to act upon the principle of reducing the head of the Bhonslay State to the condition of a mere pageant," by retaining for the British Government a control over every branch of the administration, in addition to the complete military occupation of the country.

whole Nagpoor territory is a continued tract of mountains, ravines, and jungles, forming altogether as difficult a theatre of war as can be conceived.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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